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"The Land of the Moors,"

A COMPREHENSIVE DESCRIPTION

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"The Moors,"

A COMPREHENSIVE DESCRIPTION

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THE MOORISH EMPIRE

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THE

MOORISH EMPIRE

A HISTORICAL EPITOME

BY

BUDGETT MEAKIN

FOR SOME YEARS EDITOR OF "THE TIMES OF MOROCCO"
AUTHOR OF "AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARABIC OF MOROCCO," "THE MOORS"
"THE LAND OF THE MOORS," "SONS OF ISHMAËL," ETC.

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To

The Right Honourable

The Lord Curzon of Kedleston,

Viceroy of our Indian Empire,

in appreciation

of both pleasure and profit

derived from his works

on "the incomparable East";

and also

to the Members of

The Consular and Diplomatic Bodies

in Morocco,

in whose hands are not alone

the interests of those they serve,

but also, to a great extent,

the prospects of the Moorish Empire,

this volume is presented

as a token of the author's confidence

and expectation.

PREFACE

IT has been more than once suggested that among the reviews of a new publication there should be one from the pen of its author, but that privilege is assured to him already in a measure by the preface, which affords him scope for the expression of his object and his principles, and of the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with which he regards his completed task.

The chapters to which these lines are prefixed grew out of an attempt to acquire some knowledge of the antecedents of the Moors, the better to understand them as they are to-day. Originally intended to form one section only of a comprehensive volume, they have been reduced to the narrowest possible limits, and all facts not vital have been cast aside. The extreme compression rendered necessary also by the crowded lives of presumptive readers has precluded unimportant detail and elaboration, so that instead of a word being added to spin out the tale, a single epithet must frequently convey the spirit of a well-digested chapter, or a few lines express an opinion sifted from many volumes. The dual task before me was of no slight difficulty, for it has been my endeavour throughout to present in a popular form a picture of sufficient detail accurately reproduced to satisfy the student.

Those who seek for polished diction, or the swing of a continuous narrative, must suffer disappointment. The fact that the subject is almost new to English literature,

and that it is treated here more comprehensively than hitherto in any language must be the excuse for abundant shortcomings. Neither fertile imagination nor poetical diction is the ideal of historians, but an unswerving devotion to fact, with the power to discriminate between conflicting witnesses, and the ability to make the dead live once again in the great scenes in which they played their parts, confronting thus the present with the past. It may, perhaps, be suggested that the critical consideration of a subject so remote from European interests is hardly worth the pains bestowed upon it, but to this it may be answered that the study of the Moors is of far more than ethnological or geographical importance. As a chapter in the story of the human race its incidents assist the study of mankind. It is as a contribution to universal history that I have gathered and marshalled the facts which together form the record of the Moorish Empire. Volunteers for work upon nations more closely related to us, where the soil has been ploughed and re-ploughed, are numerous enough, but there is work, no less important, to be done upon the fallow ground. For this reason the inducement to devote the labour of years to increase our acquaintance with the Moorish people, past and present,* has been the conviction that the service rendered was greater than would be afforded by any treatment, however novel, of some well-worn theme, albeit popular and therefore lucrative.

In the spirit in which Arnold edited Thucydides I entered on this work, not as "an idle inquiry about remote ages and forgotten institutions, but as a living picture of things present, fitted not so much for the

* These and other remarks in this preface refer equally to the companion volumes on *The Moors* and *The Land of the Moors*.

curiosity of the scholar as for the instruction of the statesman and the citizen."* It is my hope to have provided a store-house to which students of many subjects may turn with success. The genuine pleasure which results from the fortunate search for facts and incidents long buried is one which I cannot expect my readers to share: my enjoyment has been that of the miner; theirs can only be that of the heir to a fortune. If they will but use it for the good of Morocco they are most welcome, and I am more than repaid for the years so spent.

Only when viewed in the aggregate, magnified in scenes long past, do the effects of Moorish thought and principles upon the national life become apparent, and then only can their influence upon the individual be rightly weighed. For this purpose it is the internal history, as pictured by the people themselves, which is of supreme importance. As M. Houdas aptly remarks, in his introduction to Ez-Zaïánî: "The social condition of the followers of Islám is so different from our own that we have always some trouble to appreciate at their right value the events which occur in a Muslim land. Moreover, as the result of a natural tendency, we willingly neglect that which concerns their private history, concentrating our attention on their outer history, the interest of which appears to us greater and more important." No policy could be more short-sighted, whatever the value of information as to past external relations, since the most uninteresting petty details of the home-life, whether of the nation or the individual, become attractive when regarded as indicative of character and tendencies. In this case it has been most disappointing that the native

* Preface to vol. iii., p. xxii.

writers have furnished so little direct light as to the condition of the nation in its various stages. Wherever possible, advantage has been taken of the occasional glimpses afforded, but it has been impossible to fully portray the national life at any other period than the present. Yet from what chance evidence is available, it would appear that no such changes have occurred in Morocco during the last thousand years as have altered the life of Europe.

The remarkable familiarity with certain points of current Moorish history displayed by many of the earlier writers, side by side with the grossest of blunders, and with utter lack of sympathetic interest, may be explained by the intimate relations with Moorish life and movement of some Christian slaves, but more especially of renegades. Warped though they might be, embittered though they could not fail to be, they both knew more and chronicled more of the essential life of the country than could the present average European resident, who knows no more of what is going on than the local newspapers can tell him, and they have sprung into existence only of recent years. The best contemporary informant can tell us less of Morocco than the slaves knew two hundred years ago.

The Oriental scholar, or the student who has time to draw his own conclusions, I would refer to the authorities so freely quoted and so gratefully acknowledged,* especially to those translations of the Arab records to which I am so deeply indebted—to De Slane, Gayangos, Baumier, Houdas, Fagnan, Jones and others. My object has rather been to present to an uninterested public an account—

* The references to authorities in these pages number 1,175. Part III. contains reviews of 223 of the volumes employed.

drawn from original and reliable sources—which should be brief enough and bright enough to interest, and to impart a faithful picture of the rise, progress and condition of the Moorish Empire, enabling them thereby to gauge its character and trend.

I would ask historical critics to bear in mind that as my object has been rather a contribution to our knowledge of the people than to that of dry-as-dust facts, while exercising every reasonable care, I have not applied the modern critical methods to all statements quoted. I have rather preferred to give "chapter and verse," and to record elsewhere my opinion as to the value of the various works as evidence. Especially is this the case with the native writers, who, however mistaken they may sometimes have been as to dates, or credulous as to exploits, have seldom, if ever, misrepresented the national spirit. From this point of view, a picturesque touch or a glimpse of feeling often contains far more truth than the least assailable statements of unadorned fact, and to the student of mankind their value is unquestionably greater.

Throughout I have endeavoured to attach the story to chronological landmarks which should already exist in the reader's mind, and as the Mohammedan Era conveys no idea to others than its special students, I have discarded it altogether. The lunar standard of the historians quoted renders nice adjustment with our solar years impossible without defining the months, which in a work of this nature would be much more objectionable than occasional discrepancies.

With regard to dynastic and other dates, I have on the whole followed native authors, carefully collated and compared. The difficulty of compiling a satisfactory list

of the Moorish sultans, and of exactly fixing their dates, arises chiefly from the conflicting statements of the chronicles, which sometimes vary according to the rivals whom the writers favoured, and from the fact that either two or more were reigning in different parts at the same time, or that a reign commenced at one time in one part and in another later. But for all practical purposes it is sufficient to know their approximate epoch. It is hoped that the chronographical method adopted in the chart may facilitate the mental tabulation of the periods dealt with in a manner which to many is impracticable with figures alone.

In the matter of illustrations—as for most of the facts brought together—I have largely drawn on predecessors in this field, since my desire has been to produce a work which should be complete rather than throughout original. Wherever the source of an illustration could be ascertained it has been acknowledged, and I would here express my thanks to all whose illustrations have been reproduced. Each has been selected for some particular interest, and many are from photographs specially taken for these volumes by friends. The small map is from one larger and more complete, specially drawn for *The Land of the Moors.*

In conclusion, let me say that wherever other students differ from me as to either facts or figures, the invariable refuge of the native writer, when confronted with conflicting statements, shall still be mine: "*God alone knows the truth!*"

One only favour I would ask of my readers, and that is the indication to me of whatever oversights or errors they discover in these volumes.

Letters may be addressed to the care of the London publishers.

El Manár, Hampstead.

THE SPELLING OF ARABIC WORDS

IN such a work as this the question of transliteration calls for remark, and its importance has secured its most careful consideration. The system followed is that adopted by the Beïrût missionaries in 1838 and confirmed in 1860, modified to suit the singularly pure and classical Maghribin pronunciation under the advice of several well-known Arabic scholars, and as the outcome of many years of experiment. Since each Arabic letter is distinguished by a dot or other sign, the original form of a word can be at once reproduced; and since Arabic is written phonetically, the correct pronunciation can be arrived at by anyone acquainted with the values of the original characters. In my Morocco-Arabic Vocabulary this system was strictly adhered to—printer's errors excepted—but in a work intended to present native words in a form for popular use, it has been deemed essential to make certain modifications for the sake of simplicity.*

Thus "ee" and "oo" are frequently written, in proper names especially, as î or ï and û; the "ee" is retained in words of one and two syllables when the accent falls upon it, for the convenience of ordinary English readers; the final yá (î) of adjectives derived from names is also modified to i.

* This does not of course apply to Arabic names of objects, phrases, etc., which are transliterated strictly.

The final h is usually omitted from feminine proper names (students will remember that it always follows an unaccented a, becoming t for euphony when the following word begins with a vowel). The ' accent denoting the initial álîf or "vowel prop" is omitted when the initial vowel is a capital. The dots which distinguish consonants unknown in English (ḍ, ḥ, ḳ, ṣ, and ṭ), the tie-dash beneath letters which can only be approximately rendered by two characters in English (d̲h̲, g̲h̲, k̲h̲); and the sign ' (representing the hamzah), necessary to enable students to identify the words, can always be omitted in popular use; but it is strongly recommended that, with the exception mentioned, the accent be always retained, as on it so much depends. The standard for the names of places is throughout the local spelling (and therefore pronunciation) of the educated classes, to obtain which special pains have been taken.

It is the hope, therefore, of the writer, who has made large concessions in this matter to the views of others, that he has not expended this labour for his own works alone, but that he has provided a standard of spelling which will be adopted by future writers. It may be added that these renderings are in accordance with the principles adopted by the Royal Geographical Society, the Foreign, India, Colonial, and War Offices, the Admiralty, and the Government of the United States, all of which will here find their authority for Moorish names.

(A glossary of common words will be appended to *The Moors*, and a list of place-names to *The Land of the Moors*.)

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Every letter is pronounced: consonants have the English, and single vowels the Italian value.

a,	ـَ	nisbah, short open sound, as "a" in "can," sometimes "ŭ" as in "but."
á,	ا	álif with nisbah, longer open sound, as "a" in "far."
à,	ى	limálah, or álif maksoorah, as final "a" in "papa" (always final).
â *or* ', *	ع	âin, long "â," far back in the mouth, as in the "baa" of a sheep.
b,	ب	bá, as in English.
d,	د	dál, „ „
dh,	ذ	dhál, „ „
ḍ,*	ض	ḍád, strongly articulated palatal "d."
dh,*	ظ	dhá, thick "dh," something like "th" in "thee."
e,	ـِ *or* _	nisbah or khafḍah, short English "e."
ee,	ـِ	yá with khafḍah, as in English.
f,	ف	fá, as in English.
g,	گ	gáf, „ „ hard.
g,	ج	jeem, „ „ „ (g).
gh,*	غ	ghaïn, deep guttural.
h,	ه	há, as in English.
ḥ,	ح	ḥá, „ „ like "hh."
i,	ـِ	khafḍah, as in English.
í,	إ	álif with khafḍah, like the first "i" in "India."
î *or* ï,	ي	yá, as in English.
j,	ج	jeem, „ „
k,	ك	káf, „ „
ḳ,	ق	ḳáf, peculiar hard "k" low in the throat, as "ck" in "kick."
kh,*	خ	khá, rough guttural sound as in Scotch "loch."
l,	ل	lám, as in English.
m,	م	meem, „ „
n,	ن	noon, „ „
ṇ,	ـً, ـٍ, ـٌ *or* ـْ	(doubled final short vowels) „ „
o,	ـُ	rofâh, „ „
ô,	و	waû, „ „
oo,	ـُ	„ with rofâh, as in English.
r,	ر	rá, as in English.
s,	س	seen, „ „
ṣ,*	ص	ṣád, „ „ hard, like ss.
sh,	ش	sheen, „ „
t,	ت	tá, „ „
ṭ,*	ط	ṭá, short palatal "t."
th,	ث	thá, as in English "three," but rather more of the "t" sound.
u,	ـُ	rofâh, as in English.
ú,	ا	álif with rofâh, as in English "up."
û,	و	waû, Continental "u" sound, as in "pull."
w,	و	waû, as in English.
y,	ي	yá, „ „
z,	ز	zaïn, „ „

ʾ = ᵃ hamzah, showing that the preceding vowel is cut off short, and a slight pause made.

' shows that a letter is elided in the pronunciation, generally "a" in ordinary conversation. In past participles it is generally "u" which is elided.

ʿ denotes an initial âïn followed by a short vowel other than nisbah.

· is placed between two letters which *might* be sounded as one, to separate them.

* The correct pronunciation of these letters is only to be acquired from a native; the nearest possible English rendering being given, no difficulty will be experienced in connecting them with their Arabic equivalents.

MODIFICATIONS IN COMMON WORDS

For A'l or él	El.
„ A'llah	Allah.
„ A'meer	Ameer.
„ 'Aráb	Arab.
„ Banî	Beni.
„ I'smâáïl.	Ismâïl.
„ Ḳáïd	Kaid.
„ Moḥammed (or more strictly Muḥammad)	Mohammed.
„ Mûláï	Mulai.
„ Seedî (more correctly Seyyidî)	Sidi.
„ Sulṭán	Sultan.

MODIFICATIONS IN NAMES OF PLACES

For A'sfî	Saffi.
„ E'l Jazaïr	Algiers.
„ E'l Jazîrah	Algeciras.
„ Fás	Fez.
„ Ḥajrat N'kûr	Alhucemas.
„ Jazaïr Zafrán	Zaffarines.
„ Melilîyah	Melilla.
„ Miknás	Mequinez.
„ Rîbáṭ	Rabat.
„ Sibtá	Ceuta.
„ Slá	Salli.
„ Talimsán	Tlemçen.
„ Ṭanjah	Tangier.
„ Tettáwan	Tetuan.
„ Tûnis	Tunis.

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Gate of Citadel, Tangier (from a photo by Molinari, Tangier) . . *cover*
[*The furthest house on the right is that in which the author worked for five years on this volume.*]

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A

COMPARATIVE CHAR

OF

THE MOORISH EMPIRE

HISTORICAL
CHRONOLOGICAL
GEOGRAPHICAL
GENEALOGICAL.

THE MOORISH EMPIRE

Part I.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

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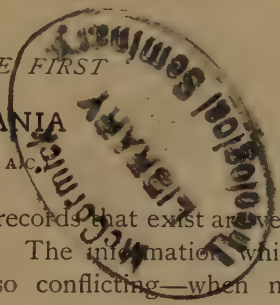
THE MOORISH EMPIRE



CHAPTER THE FIRST

MAURETANIA

(500 B.C.—690 A.C.)

Scanty Records.

OF ancient Mauretania* the records that exist are very scanty and unsatisfactory. The information which has come to us is so conflicting—when not manifestly borrowed—that there is no certain ground on which we may build history, or even a romance. The earliest authorities, who dealt almost exclusively with myths and legends, may be set aside at once, for Morocco lay so far out of the beaten tracks of those days, that it is only when the Carthaginian Hanno makes a colonising expedition to beyond the Herculean Pillars, that we meet with dependable statements. Even Hanno's authenticity has been disputed (although unsuccessfully), and nothing certain is known of his person or date. All that remains is the account of his "Periplus" or voyage, graven on a stone in the temple of Saturn at Carthage on his return, and copied by a Greek traveller centuries later.[1]

Hanno: Cir. 500 B.C.

With sixty galleys of fifty oars each, conveying no less than thirty thousand men, the bold Phœnician set

* This spelling is established as correct by coins and inscriptions of the period, including those discovered at Volubilis.

[1] MANNERT, p. 577.

The Phœnician Era.

forth on his daring errand. Until his return—and, in spite of the wonders he had to relate, for many a long day thereafter—all beyond those mighty pillars was dark, and darkness meant terror. The majestic swell of the ocean was more than the barques of the Midland Sea could withstand, and even Hercules himself was fabled to have gone no farther. But the Carthaginian Empire was expanding, and the first of the great Punic Wars had not been fought; her waxing power demanded feeders; her commercial instincts called for wider enterprise. Slowly coasting along the North African shore, at last the dread corner was turned, and after two days' sail the explorers landed to establish their first colony at Thymatherion, somewhere in Central Morocco.* Proceeding thence, five other colonies were planted, Karikon-Teikhos, Gytta, Akra, Melitta and Arambys, none of which are now to be identified.†

Thus far the colonisation; what followed was more properly exploration. Up to that point the adventurers had probably encountered only people of the stock which we know as Berber, with whom they would be able to converse, since the majority of the colonists must have been drawn from the districts round Carthage, the modern

* This is not the place in which to discuss the many debatable questions as to the sites of the various stations and landmarks in Morocco mentioned by ancient writers—the more certain of which are noticed in the companion volume to this, *The Land of the Moors*. The matter has been thoroughly sifted by other writers to whose sources of information there has been no addition, and as a concise and reliable summary is given in the Bibliography, where it will not be available to many of my readers, by kind permission of the late Sir Lambert Playfair it is here presented—shorn of bibliographical data—in the form of an Appendix. The most convenient summary of all we know about Mauretania is Göbel's pamphlet in German, to which the reader is referred for particulars here omitted.

† An epitome of Hanno's "Periplus" will be found in *The Land of the Moors*.

Photograph by the Hon. Major D. Lawless

MEGALITHIC REMAINS AT M'ZÔRA

Aborigines.

Tunisia. But now they began to meet or hear of strangers; savage and inhospitable tribes, some of them Troglodytes, or cave-dwellers,* who furnished Hanno with interpreters. Possibly they represented the first of those waves of humanity which had passed over North Africa, causing a modification of type in the so-called Berbers of the Sûs and the Drâa.† That there was an earlier race is also manifest from the existing megalithic remains,‡ many more of which would doubtless be discovered, were Morocco opened up and properly explored.

By this time the travellers must have reached the limits of what has since become the Moorish Empire, and in an

* Caves once used as human habitations are plentiful in many parts, as along the coast of the Tansîft, in the Atlas, in the 'Aïn Tarsîl,[1] west of Amzmiz, in the Gindáfi valley, near Shesháwan, and beyond Wazzán.

Tissot also describes dolmens, menhirs, galgals, barrows, and cromlechs in Morocco,[2] and Martinière notes a cromlech on Jebel Zarhôn, near Zeggôta.

† Dr. Bertholon, who has made careful researches, and has taken measurements of the skulls of this prehistoric race, remarks[3]:—"There would appear to have been in North Africa at the time of the Ægean immigration, only populations which had not got beyond the stone civilisation. A few tribes, akin to the quaternary man of Neanderthal, were at the stage of chipped flint; others, more numerous, of the same race as the Iberians, were raising megalithic monuments, and were living in a less profound state of barbarism." Dr. Bertholon[4] believes that the Libyans or Celto-Ligurians emigrated from somewhere round the Danube about 1500 years before Christ, and settled in North Africa, "where, as the Egyptian monuments attest, they attacked Egypt itself." He believes further that "they spoke a European language, the Phrygian dialect, no doubt, which Fisk has shown to be a sister tongue to the Greek. This dialect, more and more altered, has kept itself up to our times in the Berber language."

But Professor Keane holds this view to be incorrect, believing that the migrations were from Africa, where, rather than in periodically ice-clad Europe, the Afro-European or Caucassian type was slowly formed.[5]

‡ As at M'zôra, near Azîla,[6] and to the east of Wazzán.[7]

[1] Described by HARRIS, *Land*, p. 244. See also GLOBUS, xxiv. p. 175, *Dolmen in Marokko* (unsigned); and VILAIN, *Le Dolmen des Beni Snassan* (*Maroc*), Paris, 1885.

[2] pp. 176, 178.

[3] *Revue Tunisienne*, Oct. 1897, p. 418.

[4] l.c., p. 419.

[5] *Man, Past and Present*, 1899, p. 455.

[6] SPENCE WATSON, p. 100, and BROOKE, vol. ii., p. 36.

[7] ROHLFS, p. 36.

island called Kernë—about which hopelessly conflicting statements are all that remain—they made a stay of

From Tissot.

SITES OF PREHISTORIC REMAINS IN NORTHERN MOROCCO

sufficient length for a considerable commerce to spring up. They had journeyed then as far beyond the Straits as the Straits were from Carthage. From Kernë they

pushed on till they met with crocodiles and hippopotami and "hairy men and women" or "gorillas,"* from which it is evident that they were well within the tropics, perhaps at the mouth of the Niger. For the elephants they found in Sûs there is no difficulty in accounting, since they were still to be seen there nearly a thousand years later,[1] but the presence of the river denizens sets the extent of their journey beyond all doubt.

The Colonies.

Of the fate of the colonies founded nothing is known, but it seems certain that they seldom or never included the surrounding territory, and that they were little more than trading stations, of which, according to Eratosthenes, quoted by Strabo,[2] Carthage, when it fell, possessed no fewer than three hundred along this coast. Thus it is not wonderful that the traces are slight, nor must it be forgotten that the city of Dido itself was entirely exotic—a parasitical growth—and that, as one writer puts it, "Carthage in the height of her power paid ground-rent."[3] That there are so few remains to indicate the situations of these colonies is not so remarkable as the almost complete obliteration of the "wiped out" parent city.† Thus the Phœnician Era came and went, leaving hardly a memory; only the faintest of traces.

Aboriginal Inhabitants.

No account has survived of the peoples with whom the colonists traded. It was not until the troops of Hasdrubal and Hamilcar and Hannibal had made their last march to the narrowing Straits, and the avenging Roman, having driven them back from Spain, pressed after to establish an African Empire, that the oldest existing legends about the natives

* This is one of the few Punic words which have become English, and its use dates from this expedition.

† As long ago as the time of Pliny there was "no remembrance nor yet the slightest vestige" of these colonies.[4]

[1] PLINY, bk. v., chap. i. See *The Land of the Moors*, chap. iv.
[2] bk. xvii., § iv. [3] URQUHART, p. 225. [4] PLINY, bk. v., chap. i.

Cavilla, Photo., Tangier

EL UTAD—"THE PEG"—AT M'ZÔRA

were placed on record. A thousand years after the voyage of Hanno, a Roman scribe, Procopius of Cæsarea—secretary to Belisarius in Justinian's Vandal War in Africa—wrote that in his day there existed near Tangier two white columns of stone by a gushing spring. On these were inscribed in the Phœnician language, "We have fled before the face of Joshua the robber, son of Nun."* Procopius explains that the inhabitants of these parts were descended from the Canaanites expelled before the Children of Israel, whom he appears to have confused with the early Phœnician settlers. But whatever the truth may have been, the Arab historians also attribute a Canaanitish origin to the Berbers, assigning a more recent date for their expulsion, which they declare took place under Goliath (Jálût), their

* "Hic Populi numerosi habitavere, Gergesæi, Jebusæi, aliaque habentes nomina Hebræis voluminibus memorata, qui . . . in Africam penetravere, ubi civitates quamplures habitentes omnem eum tractum usque ad Herculis columnas tenuerunt, semi-Phœnicia lingua ac catalecto utentes. Oppidumque Tingen situ munitissimum in Numidia ædificaverunt, ubi duo ex albo lapide columnæ prope magnum fontem constitutæ, in quibus Phœnicum lingua litteræ incassæ sunt hujuscemodi: 'Nos a facie fugimus Jesu prædonis filii Nave."[1]

Kenrick (*Phœnicia*, p. 67) and Ewald (ii. 298) are both strongly opposed to the acceptance of this inscription, although there must have been some foundation for the report. The Talmud (Jerusal. Jesimoth) ascribes to Joshua a proclamation offering permission to depart to such of the Canaanites as desired to do so, whereupon a portion of them found their way to Africa.

"I believe in the columns, I doubt the inscription, I reject the pedigree," says Gibbon;[2] but Dean Milman adds in a note that the same inscription was mentioned in the Armenian history by Moses of Chorene more than a century before Procopius. Five hundred years earlier Sallust had suggested that the Berbers were the remnant of the army of Medes, Persians and Armenians brought to Spain by Hercules,[3] and it is possible that there may be some truth in both these stories. The geographer Yákût says that similar columns existed at Carthage, imitations of two which had originally stood at Tyre.

[1] *De Bello Vandalico*, ed. 1531, lib. ii. p. 222; *Ibid.*, ii. 10. Also Suidas, in voce "Canaan," *Moses Chorenensis*, i. 18, and Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 381.

[2] *Decline and Fall*, ed. 1855, vol. v., p. 121. [3] *De Bello Jugurth.*, c. 21.

king in the time of David.[1] Whether they only imperfectly echoed what Procopius had stated, or whether both had before them a local tradition, it is now impossible to say; nor can the racial question be here discussed,* although, from its connection with Biblical history, it fascinates so many, and has led to so much theory-building and random assertion.

The Roman Era.

With the advent of the Romans we are at last brought in touch with well-authenticated history, but even then their westernmost African province was not of sufficient importance to call for careful notice from contemporary writers. Sixty-four years after the burning of Carthage, when Rome had been captured by four united foes, the army of Sertorius, one of the number, having been expelled from Spain by a lieutenant of the dictator Sulla, attempted, with the aid of Sicilian pirates, to land on the Moorish coast, but, driven back by the inhospitable natives, he was forced to make for the Canaries. Already, in the previous year, Bogud, son of King Bocchus of Tangier, had sent his son Ganda with troops to the aid of Pompey against Yarbas the Numidian, so that the Moors had evidently realised the growing power of Rome, and knew what the fall of

82 B.C. Carthage implied. Consequently, when Tangier was taken immediately afterwards by a fresh band of Sicilian corsairs, led by Ascalis, Roman troops were sent to its assistance, but in vain. The successful Sertorius was enabled to collect an army which included seven

78 B.C. hundred Berbers: with their support he invaded Spain, and recovered the ground he had lost.

It was not, however, till the time of Augustus that the

* This question is fully entered into in the chapter on the Berbers in my companion volume, *The Moors*.

1 Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim (*tr.* Jones), p. 45. Ibn Khaldûn (*tr.* de Slane), vol. iii., p. 181 also vol. i., Ap. i. Ibn Jarîr et Tabári, apud Ibn Khaldûn, vol. i., p. 275.

Romans acquired any real power on this coast, and then, so far as concerned Morocco, it was indirect. Just at the time of the birth of Christ, Numidia was handed over by that emperor to Juba the younger, to be held as in
25 A.C. fief from Rome,* and twenty-four years later Mauretania was given to him by Tiberius in exchange. Mauretania then included little more than Algeria, and although raised by Augustus to colonial rank, as Julia Constantia, it soon lost all importance. Juba, like those who succeeded him, found the mountain Berbers hard to control, and was compelled on several occasions to request the aid of Rome. The most important of these expeditions took place in the first year of the reign of Claudius I., under that Suetonius Paulinus who, two years later, was to traverse Western Europe, and establish Roman rule among the distant savages of Britain.[1] This was the greatest undertaking of the Romans in Morocco, for Suetonius pursued the indomitable natives under Ædemon, as far as ten days' march across the Atlas, with its eternal snows, until he reached the "deserts of black earth," and the river still known as the Ghîr, towards Tafîlált.[2] Perhaps to his expedition were due the ancient Roman remains referred to by Leo, possibly a fortified outpost, but not everything in Morocco known by the name of "Rûmi" is to be attributed to them.†

Expedition of Suetonius Paulinus.
41-2.

42.

* Some hold that Numidia proper was never given to Juba II., but certain portions of Gaetulia.[3] The wife of this Juba was a daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. He died about 21 A.C.

† "By the word Rûmi the author means imperialists. The word was first used to designate the Romans of the lower empire, and the people living in its dependencies. It became in time a synonym for Christian, owing to the Greeks generally professing Christianity. However, Ibn Khaldûn, in his history of the Berbers, condemns the use of the word in the latter acceptation. He says 'I do not recollect ever meeting with the word Rûm as applied to any nation

[1] DION CASSIUS, I, lxc., chaps. viii. and ix. [2] PLINY, bk. v., 14.
[3] DION CASSIUS, liii., 526.

Salabrus, king of the Mauri, being thus overthrown, the whole of his country was merged in the Roman province. This at no time extended further along the coast than Salli, or, as the Moors call it, Slá, a name recalling Sala, that by which it was known to the Romans. In the Antonine itinerary it is spoken of as "Salaconia," but this can hardly have been an abbreviation of "Sala Colonia," as some have supposed, since Pliny, when enumerating all the other colonies, makes no mention of it as such. Nor did the province stretch much further inland than Volubilis, the ruins of which still stand on the hillside of Zarhôn. Here, eight centuries later, Mulai Idrees erected his standard, and established a Moroccan dynasty. A glance at the map will show that with the exception of the district of Er-Rîf, whose inhabitants were never fully subjugated—since under Marcus Aurelius they were able to rebel and carry the war into Spain[1]—the Romans only mastered the northern plains, hemmed in by mountains to the South and East.* Though southward of Salli stretched then, as now, vast fertile plains, they are described by Pliny as deserted, and the home of elephants.

Extent of Roman Province.

The enterprising Juba left a treatise on what he saw

or race of people inhabiting this country (Africa) at the time of its occupation by the Arabs, nor have I ever met with it in the ancient works which relate these events, whence I suppose they were called so by antonomasia, since the Arabs of those days, not being acquainted with the Franks (Vandals) as a nation, and having no other people to deal with and make war upon in Syria but the Rûm, to whose empire they imagined all the other Christian nations to be tributary, thought that Heraclius, the Roman Emperor, was the king of all Christendom. Hence the name of Rûm was given by them to all Christian nations.'"[2]

* Nevertheless, Martinière found capitals and other vestiges of Byzantine work at Agadîr Ighîr in Sûs, "which throw an altogether new and interesting light upon the Byzantine rule in this part of Africa."[3]

1 SPARTIAN, *Hadrian*, xxii., p. 194.

2 GAYANGOS on El Makkári, bk. iv., chap. i., note 16.

3 *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, etc., Paris, vol. xix., p. 347.

Photograph by the Hon. Major D. Lawless

RUINS OF VOLUBILIS

in his African kingdom in several books, which have unfortunately been lost, and our only knowledge of the people is derived from Pliny, who quotes Suetonius about the Gætuli, a name which has by many been identified with the more modern Gazzûli or Jazzûli. Of these and kindred nations the historian Gibbon has remarked[1] that "during the vigour of the Roman power they observed a respectful distance from Carthage and the sea-shore; under the feeble reign of the Vandals they invaded the cities of Numidia, occupied the sea-coast from Tangier to Cæsarea, and pitched their tents with impunity in the fertile plains of Byzacium. . . . The Moorish princes . . . aspired to receive in the emperor's name the insignia of their regal dignity." Such a prince was Juba himself, although more strictly speaking he was a Numidian, for the word Mauretania* was of a much more vague significance than our expression "Morocco."

Position of the Mountaineers.

In order to propitiate the people of Bœtica the Mauretanian province was by Otho annexed to Spain,[2] and ultimately the western half of Mauretania was placed by the last of the Cæsars under a procurator, and named Mauretania Tingitana, after its chief town Tingis, now Tangier. The eastern half received the appellation of Cæsariensis, and the two formed part of the emperor's special domain. At first they were garrisoned by troops of the second order, under the procurator, but latterly the offices of governor and general were separated, as together liable to tempt ambition.†

70.

Mauretania Tingitana.

95.

* In Greek, Maurusia.

† From the various inscriptions discovered, M. Pallu de Lessert constructed a list of thirteen Roman governors of Mauretania Tingitana,[3] ranging from the time of Galba (68 A.C.) to the latter part of the fourth century A.C. Inscriptions from Volubilis enabled M. Héron de Villefosse to add another

1 l.c., p. 122. 2 TACITUS, *Hist.*, bk. i., chap. 78.
3 *Les Gouverneurs des Maurétanies*, p. 135.

In Hadrian's time the Mauri rose under a Berber leader known to the Romans as Lusius Quietus, who, for
117. faithful service in command of Berber troops while assisting Trajan, had been previously entrusted with the government of Palestine,[1] but whether his home was Morocco or not cannot now be determined. One of the last occurrences on record in connection with the Roman occupation is an expedition under one of the
138-161. generals of Antoninus Pius against the Moors, whom he drove before him into the Atlas valleys. It is instructive to note that at the same time another Roman general was driving the Brigantes of the Yorkshire moors from the borders of his province of Britain.[2] The benefit derived by Rome from Mauretania appears to have been slight, although its forests afforded supplies of the treasured thuja or citrus wood, whereof the wealthy patricians were wont to carve their priceless tables.[3] A peculiar purple dye was also procured here, which appears to have supplanted in popular favour even the purple of Tyre.[4]

From this time the power of the Romans waned, for luxury and its attendant vice had sapped the nation's strength. One by one her possessions slipped from her, and Mauretania Tingitana was not one of those dear to her heart. When the league of the Franks led to their invasion of Gaul and Spain, we read of their seizing Spanish vessels wherewith to invade Morocco,[5] but with what success they met we know not. At length, soon after the Vandals and

The Vandal Era. *Cir.* 268.

about the time of Marcus Aurelius—whose name occurs on more than one of the Volubilis monuments—while a fifteenth is mentioned in an inscription from Vienne in Dauphiné.[6]

[1] MERCIER, vol. i., p. 107.
[2] PAUSANIAS, l. viii., c. 43.
[3] See *The Land of the Moors*, chap. iii.
[4] MELA, l. iii., c. 10; and PLINY, l. v., c. 1.
[5] GIBBON, l.c., vol. i., p. 392; ANSON, *Epist.* xxv. 58; AUREL. VICTOR, *De Cæsar*, c. 33.
[6] ALLMER, *Inscr. ant. de Vienne*, No. 1963; *Corp. inscr. latin.*, xii., No. 1856; *Bull. Arch. du Com. des Trav. Hist.*, Paris, 1891, p. 141.

Suevi and Goths had made their way into Spain with
429. Genseric as their leader, they also passed into Africa. Boniface, the governor, facilitated their invasion, as did the Spaniards also, glad enough to see them depart. They formed a body of 80,000, more than half of whom were soldiers, and their way led eastward, for their goal was Carthage, which they were successful in acquiring ten years later. They do not appear to have established themselves in Morocco, though Ceuta and Tangier became
618. tributary to them, and so remained till the coming of the Goths three centuries later. Here again a period of total darkness stretches over Mauretania, and we cannot even say with certainty what influence the outside world had on the Berber tribes, or how far Christian influences penetrated. It is unlikely that they ever reached the Roman limits, and if not, the general conception of a Christian Era in Morocco must be very much exaggerated.* In dealing with the records of those times, it is imperative to bear in mind the narrow meanings of such terms as Africa, Numidia, Mauretania, the Mauri and the Berbers, all of which have now far wider applications, calculated to produce erroneous impressions.

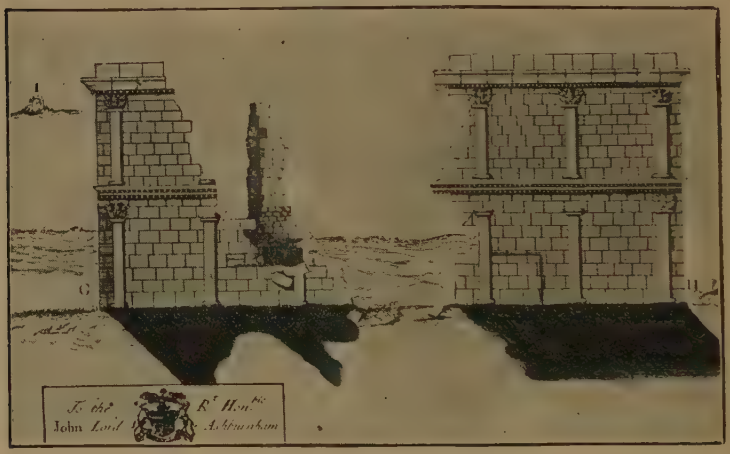
ROMAN COIN STRUCK AT BABBA IN MOROCCO
Ti. Claudius, Cæsar Augustus, 41–54 A.C.
(In the British Museum)

The only important Roman remains in Morocco are those of Volubilis—some three and a half hours' ride from Mequinez—the identity of which has been proved by inscriptions. One of these, formerly adorning the triumphal arch which, though now in ruins, still forms the most striking feature, is in honour

Roman Remains.

* This question is fully discussed in chap. xv.

of Caracalla and Julia Domna. This establishes a date as posterior to 213 A.C.[1], further confirmed by the tombstone of Q. Cæcilius Domitianus, which gives also the name of the town.* By the natives these remains are known as Ḳaṣar Faráôn ("Pharaoh's Castle"), and at times they have been freely quarried, notably so by Mulai Ismâïl, when building the Mequinez palace. Their present



REMAINS OF VOLUBILIS IN 1721
(From Windus)

disjointed condition, and the changes which have taken place since then — evident from comparison with the account and drawing published at that time by Windus[2] —

* The ruins have been most industriously searched by M. de la Martinière, the result of whose excavations is of no small value. In 1888 and 1889 he collected forty-three inscriptions, dating chiefly from the close of the second century A.C. Of these two or three are in Greek, but they are badly mutilated, and one of the Latin inscriptions reads, as though Semitic, from right to left. Two of them are of an imperial nature, two votive, thirteen honorific, and twenty-six sepulchral. M. Héron de Villefosse has transcribed them fully for the "Paris Comité des Travaux Historiques."[3]

[1] See TISSOT, p. 151. [2] In 1721, p. 85.
[3] *Bull. Archéologique*, 1891, vol. ix., p. 135. (B. Mus., Ac. 437.)

prove that earthquakes are responsible for much of their dilapidation; probably that of 1755, which was severe in Mequinez, was among the number. Useful descriptions are also given by Tissot, Leared,[1] and Martinière,*[2] among others, all with illustrations, and Captain Boyd,[3] a slave, has left us a drawing coeval with that of Windus. The ruins of Tocolosida, which was the next Roman station on the road to what is now Mequinez, seem to have been entirely dispersed and re-utilised.†

Authorities.

For detailed speculations as to the geography and history of Mauretania, the reader is referred to the works of Mannert,[4] Duprat,[5] Saint-Martin,[6] and Tissot,[7] published in the order named. The system followed by Mannert is principally geographical, each district being dealt with separately; that of Duprat is historical, each race or nation which has occupied the country being treated chronologically in its turn; that of Saint-Martin is bibliographical, the statements of each writer being considered separately, and of the three this is of the greatest value; it was deservedly "crowned" by the "Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres" of France. But all of these

* When I visited Volubilis I found Martinière digging, but his subsequently published volume is disappointing, as it fails to give an account of his labours. These appeared later in the *Comptes-Rendus* of the "Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres," t. xix., p. 348. His researches on the site of Lixus, near Laraiche, are described with plates in the *Bull. Arch. du Com. des Trav. Hist. et Sc.*, t. viii., pp. 134-148 and 451. See also *Revue Archéologique*, 1887.

† Dr. Spence Watson[8] describes what he took for the ruins of a Roman town at Madrisa Sayûfa, about two miles nearer Tangier than the fondak on the Tetuan road, on a high hill to the South called Zînát. Tissot has gone thoroughly into the various fragmentary traces of the Roman occupation.

1 *Visit*, Appendix B.

2 p. 186.

3 Inserted in the English version of De la Faye, known as *Several Voyages to Barbary*.

4 *Géographie ancienne*, Paris, 1842 (originally in German).

5 *Essai historique sur les Races anciennes et modernes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris, 1845.

6 *Le Nord d'Afrique dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1863.

7 *Récherches sur la Géographie de la Maurétanie Tingitane*, Paris, 1877. (See works reviewed in Part III. of this volume.)

8 p. 297.

were written from an outside standpoint, in reliance, necessarily, upon the statements of others. It remained for Tissot, when the representative of France at the Moorish Court in 1875, to present to the Académie mentioned a most comprehensive and scholarly mémoire drawn up on the spot, which included the results of personal investigation and excavation. With this before him, it is useless for the student to attempt new theories until fresh documents or monuments have been unearthed. The best consecutive history of Mauretania is given by Mercier.[1]

[1] *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, vol. i., Paris, 1888. (For review see Part III.)

GATEWAY AT VOLUBILIS IN 1721.
(From Windus)

CHAPTER THE SECOND

THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS

(690–788)

SLOWLY had the wave of Islám flowed along the coast of Barbary. Within a score of years from the flight of Mohammed from Mekka—the date known as "*Annus Hejiræ*," "The Year of the Flight"—Arab hordes had borne down on the delta of the Nile There they soon subdued the natives,† most of them of Christian faith, but mingled with them many Jews. A few more seasons, and the tide had flowed along the lowlands of the Cyrenaïca, till Tripoli was reached. Soon Ifrikîya (Africa)—which then meant much what we now style Tunisia—was subjugated, and the leaders pushed on into the Maghribs—the Central Maghrib (el Aûsat) or Algeria, and the Further Maghrib (el Aḳṣà) or Morocco.

The Coming of Islám.

A.C. 640.*

642-3.

645.

648.

An Arab author[1] tells us that in those days a prince named Jirjiz, or Girgiz (the prefect Gregorius) ruled from Tripoli to Tangier as the lieutenant of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius,‡ but what the real weight of his hand was we do not

Position of the Berbers.

683.

* *All marginal dates are those of the Christian Era.*

† Still retaining their ancient name of Egyptians (Gybti, Ḳubṭi, or Copts), and still professing the Christian faith, in spite of the large numbers who have from time to time embraced Islám.

‡ Constantinople itself was besieged by the Arabs in 626 and 716. Heraclius reigned from 610 to 641.

1 Ez-Zohri, quoted by En-Noweiri (*tr.* De Slane) *Journal Asiatique*, Série 3, vol. xi., p. 103.

know. Probably in the more remote Moroccan province it did not avail much against either Berber or Vandal.* To the former the Arabs came as liberators from a foreign yoke, and willingly the clansmen joined their standard. Forty years later they found they had only

A BERBER

changed masters, and rebelled, establishing an independent kingdom at Ḳairwán, the new capital built by the Arabs to the south of Tunis. Aid for its recovery was sought from its founder, 'Okba, the great Arab leader, who on his 666, 670. second and third expeditions had, with the assistance of Berber proselytes, exterminated the remaining

* His seat of office was Tripoli, where he was slain in fight with the Arabs.

Christians of Ifrikîya. Recalled from an expedition
682. which had brought him to Ceuta and Tangier, he defeated a combined host of Berbers and Greeks in a most sanguinary battle at Tahûda, but lost his life before the Arabs, under another leader, saw themselves masters
688. of Ḳaïrwán again, and the power of the independent Berbers for ever crushed.[1]

Judging between contradictory assertions in the Arab histories, it would appear that when 'Okba approached the walls of Ceuta he was met with presents by the Visigoth governor, Count Julian, and that Tangier paid him a like homage.* He could enforce no more with what remained of his army after so long a campaign,[2] and it was left for his successor Mûsà to subdue them. It was on this occasion that, riding across the plains of Bûbána or Shárf el Akáb, 'Okba reached the shores of the Atlantic, and as he urged his horse into the surf, gave utterance to the historic cry: "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of Thy holy Name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than Thee!"†

'Okba in Morocco.

But Morocco itself remained yet to be conquered, though the contest with the Greeks and the Berbers of Tunisia and Algeria, under Ḳahîna,‡ their queen, delayed the attempt

* See El Kûthîya, in the *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 5, t. 8, p. 435.

† The original authority for this is Noweiri, but I give the rendering of 'Okba's cry by Gibbon,[3] who, however, is mistaken, in common with many other writers, in supposing that 'Okba reached the present province of Sûs, as he only reached what the Arabs called Sûs el Adnà (Hither Sûs) or Northern Morocco, as distinguished from Sûs el Aḳṣà (Further Sûs), which commenced at the Um er-Rabîâ.

‡ Described as a Jewess, which her name, which means a female Levite (anglicé Cohen) would also imply.

1 En-Noweiri, l.c., p. 116.
2 Marrákshi, Ar. f. 7; Fr. 1891, pp. 213–4.
3 *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi., p. 348.

698. for twenty years more. It was not until Carthage had fallen before them, that the Muslimîn were free to proceed to the west. Mûsà ibn Noṣaïr was then deputed to lead the van, and after subduing those tribes who bordered on the Sáḥara, he bore along the northern shore to Sûs, the Drâa, and Tafîlált, where 'Abd el 'Azîz his son maintained authority, supported by ten thousand horse. The ancient Berber tribes of the Zanátà, Maṣmûdá, Sanhájà, Ketámà, and Hawárà, were one by one vanquished, or won over by the tact of 'Abd el 'Azîz, while his brother Merwán took Tangier and garrisoned it with ten thousand Arabs and Egyptians under Ṭárîḳ ibn Záïd en-Nafîsi.[1] There, as also in Tetuan and Azîla, they found many Christians,[2] of whom the majority fled into Spain. "They say," writes El Makkári, "that Tangier had never been taken by an enemy before the days of Mûsà, and, once in the hands of the Muslims, it became one of their strongest citadels." Ṭárîḳ was able to add to his forces nineteen thousand Berbers, whom he placed under the teaching of Arab religious instructors. Most of his original army had belonged to the Madîna party and their kinsfolk, who had been so signally worsted by the Syrians at the battle of Harra.[3] Thus already were sown in the West the seeds of the strife which had weakened the eastern Mohammedan forces, and which in time would bring about an independent khalîfate in Spain.

Conquest of Morocco.

702.

710.

Of the progress of Islám in the interior of Morocco not much is known, but the story appears to have differed little from that which might have been told further east. This much only is certain, that when Mulai Idrees arrived in Morocco,

Islám in the Interior.

[1] El Makkári; Marrákshi; Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim, p. 18.
[2] Gayangos, vol. i., p. 252.
[3] Dozy, vol. i., p. 234; Marrákshi, Ar. f. 10; Fr. 1891, p. 218.

towards the close of the following century, he was able to take shelter with a Muslim governor of Volubilis, and that the neighbouring tribes were sufficiently Muslimised to appreciate his sanctity as a member of Mohammed's family.[1] On the other hand, the far more interesting story of the invasion of Spain has been told and retold till the truth is hard to winnow from the fiction. It may be presumed that the eight years which elapsed between the acquisition of Tangier and the crossing of the Straits were employed in subjugating Moorish tribes, and in training the Berber force which was soon to play so important a part. It is doubtful whether an invasion of Spain was ever seriously contemplated.

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck
BERBERS AT HOME

1 IBN KHALDÛN, vol. i., p. 290.

Ceuta still remained in the hands of the Goths, then masters of Spain, and Julian is described by an Arab author as the chief of the Ghomára or Rîfian Berbers.*[1] These would therefore appear to have retained their allegiance to Spain, while the Arabs passed to the southwards of them along the natural highway provided by plains and valleys.

The Invasion of Spain.

But the sight of the fair province of Hispania, distinctly visible across the Straits, and the opportunity afforded by the despotism and treachery of Roderic, King of the Goths, proved too tempting to the Muslimised Berbers.† Incited by the wronged Count Julian[2] and a "leading Christian of Tangier,"[3] they 710. made a preliminary foray from Algeciras, the rock beside which was thenceforward called Jebel Ṭárîḳ, after the one general, as was that on the opposite coast, 711. Jebel Mûsà, after the other. Next year the invasion began in earnest, Ṭárîḳ burning his boats behind him.‡§ Further it would here be out of place to follow

* Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim shows him also to have been Governor of Algeciras and "Lord of the Straits."[4]

† Called by native writers Mustârab (*i.e.*, Arabicised), a word corrupted by Spaniards into Mozarab, but since this is as frequently applied to Muslimised Spaniards and others, it is here discarded in favour of a more distinctive term.

‡ There exists in the French National Library a coin of Mûsà ibn Noṣaïr, struck in Spain in A.H. 94 = A.C. 713. The earliest mintage in Spain sometimes bore Latin intermingled with Arabic.

§ The jealousy of Mûsà was so great in consequence, that he afterwards imprisoned Ṭárîḳ on a charge of plundering, but, on the appeal of the latter to the khalîfa, Mûsà's son was held as hostage for his life, and Ṭárîḳ was conveyed to the East.[5]

[1] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. i., pp. 212 and 287; vol. ii., p. 135; En-Náṣiri, vol. i., p. 31.

[2] En-Noweiri, J. As., sér. 3, vol. xi., p. 124), Târîf ibn Ṭárîḳ ("Abentarique"), *Verdadera Hist. del Rey don Rodrigo*, Saragossa, 1603, p. 11, etc. Also Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim (p. 19), and the Annals of Ed-Dhahebi. The oldest and most trustworthy Arabic writers on this point are Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim, El Kûthîya, and Et-Tabári. Among Christian authorities are the *Chronicon Albadense vel Æmilianense*, the Chronicle attributed to Alfonso III. of Austria, both of the 9th century, and the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius.

[3] Conde, vol. i., p. 25.

[4] p. 19.

[5] Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim, p. 25.

them, although, as the story of the Moorish Empire is unrolled, its scenes will often be transported across the Straits. Thrice in their career the Moors have conquered Spain—once from "infidels," and twice from fellow-Muslimîn.*

A Native Account.

To quote Arab records again, "El Ḥijári, Ibn Ḥazzán, and all other writers are agreed in saying that the first man who entered Andalûs with hostile intentions and deeds was Târîf the Berber, a freed-man of Mûsà ibn Noṣaïr, the same who afterwards gave his name to the Peninsula of Tarifa, situated on the Straits. He was assisted in that expedition by Yilián (Julian) the Christian,† Lord of Ceuta, who had conceived animosity against Ludherik (Roderic) King of Andalûs."

The number of troops engaged in the first expedition amounted to only one hundred horsemen and one hundred foot. They crossed the Straits in four vessels in the year 91 (710), over-ran the country, and returned laden with spoil.[1] In the words of Dozy,[2] "By a stroke of good fortune, expected by none, a simple raid had become a conquest." The condition of Visigoth Spain was so rotten that when the Moors came they found no one at

* The extent of their conquests in Europe before they were defeated at Tours by Charles Martel in 732 is seldom realised. Not only did the Moors over-run the Peninsula, but they commenced an invasion of France. The tiny Pyrenæan republic of Andorra owes its independence to the gallant stand its people made against them, but much of the district beyond fell before their arms. "Toute la côte, depuis Toulon jusqu'à Antibes, a été regardée comme le pays des Maures; mais on désigne plus particulièrement sous cette appellation la région montagneuse étendue entre Hyères et Fréjus."[3] Among other relics of the Muslim occupation is the name of the town of Ramatuelle, corrupted from "Raḥmat Allah"—"The mercy of God."

† Large numbers of "Christian" serfs of the Vandals in Spain became Muslims to attain their freedom.[4]

[1] El Makkári, bk. iv., chap. i.
[2] vol. ii., p. 36.
[3] *Le Pays des Maures*, by Mme. Vattier d' Ambroyse, Paris, 1888.
[4] Dozy, vol. ii., p. 52.

the head, and all fled before them, including rulers and prelates. "God had filled with fear the hearts of the infidels," wrote a Muslim chronicler, and indeed it was a general *sauve qui peut.*

The Berber Revolts.

But in Morocco things ere long looked black. Here, as in Ifrikîya, the Berbers began to fret beneath what they had learned to be a heavy yoke, and the treatment received by those of their number who had invaded Spain soon roused echoes of discontent at home. At last, on the death, at Ḳaïrwán, of Yazîd, lieutenant of the Khalîfa 'Omar II., an attempt was made

739. by 'Omar el Morádi, Governor of Tangier, to impose a double tribute on the surrounding tribes. This brought them down to the number of thirty thousand, "with shaven pates and Ḳor'áns hung upon their lances," to the Tangier river. Seizing the town, they slew the governor and all the Arabs they could find, proceeding thence to Sûs, where the governor met with a similar fate.[1] Deciding thereupon to establish for themselves a khalîfate, independent of the Arabs altogether,[2] they elected as their leader, Maïṣara el Hákîr, once a water-carrier of Ḳaïrwán. But when reinforcements from Spain had overcome him, he met the fate of many a fallen hero; he was deserted and slain at Tangier. His successor was more fortunate, and gained a victory so disastrous to the Arabs that it was thereafter known

740. as the 'battle of the nobles,' since in it Khalîd, their leader, and the nobles with him perished to a man.[3] To avenge this, troops to the number of thirty thousand were levied in Syria and Egypt under Kolthûm El

741. Kasháïri and his nephew Balj, but their force, which with the African garrisons reached a total of

[1] Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim, p. 34; En-Noweiri and Dozy, vol. i., p. 249.
[2] El Makkári, bk. v., chap. v.
[3] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. i., pp. 217 and 238.

seventy thousand, was also defeated.* Pursued by the victors, the fugitive Syrians reached Tangier, which they tried in vain to enter, so pushed on to Ceuta, on which they were able to seize, repelling five or six attacks. With the assistance of a second army the Syrians, though they still remained centred in Ceuta, defeated the Berbers, whose kinsmen on the European side had meanwhile been successful.

A MOORISH WATER-CARRIER AND CUSTOMER

The Echo in Spain.

The Berbers of Galicia, Murcia, Coria, Talavera, and other parts united and elected a chief, an imám. Dividing themselves into three corps, one marched to besiege Toledo, one to attack Córdova, and the third to Algeciras, to seize on the fleet in that harbour, wherewith to cross the Straits and to exterminate the Syrians in Ceuta, bringing back with them a crowd of Berbers into Spain. At that time Spain was governed by the Madîna party, known as the "Defenders" of Mohammed, to whom the Syrians were quite as hostile as to the Berbers, so that no warm welcome awaited those whom fate had driven to seek refuge across the Straits. At this point the tables were turned, and galling as it must have been to them, the Spanish Arabs had now

* According to one account, a third of this force was killed, and another third taken prisoners.

no choice but to make peace with their Syrian rivals and invite their aid. Vessels were sent to Ceuta for them, but at the same time hostages were taken for their behaviour while in the Peninsula. By their help the Berber columns were defeated one by one, and their members "hunted down throughout the country like wild beasts."

In Morocco it was not till many years had elapsed that a final pacification was effected. Even though within that
788. generation the coming of Idrees enabled the Berbers to set up a throne of their own, it was solely in his spiritual right—Divine right they still call it—that they would accept the foreigner. To this day the only hold that his successor has upon them depends on this conception and on force of arms. "The Mohammedan conquest of Africa," says Dozy,[1] "was only achieved after seventy years of murderous warfare,* and then on condition that their rights should never be interfered with, and that they should be treated, not as the vanquished, but as brothers." But as brothers they were not treated, unless that means after the manner of Ishmaël's sons. Not alone in Morocco, but as long as Mohammedan kingdoms existed in Spain, there was a constant and bitter feud between Arab and Berber, one party recruiting from the East, the other from Morocco. The Arabs had themselves to thank for this; they never realised the Berber strength, although it was by Berber arms that they had conquered Spain, they supplying only leadership, religious zeal, and education.

The great historian's verdict is explicit.[2] "The Berbers established in the Peninsula, although they do not appear to have been exactly oppressed, shared nevertheless the jealous hatred of their brethren in Africa for the Arabs. *They were the veritable*

The Berbers in Spain.

* In A.H. 100 (A.C. 718) says Ibn Ábd el Hákim,[3] "There remained not a single Berber in the provinces (of Ifrikîya) who had not become Muslim."

[1] vol. i., p. 229. [2] Dozy, l.c., vol. i., p. 255. [3] p. 29.

conquerors of the country. Mûsà and his Arabs had done nothing more than pluck the fruits of the victory won by Ṭárîḳ and his twelve thousand Berbers over the Visigoth army. At the moment of their landing on the Spanish coast all that remained for them to do was to occupy a few towns ready to yield at the first summons. And yet, when it came to dividing the fruits of the conquest, the Arabs appropriated the lion's share; they seized the best part of the booty, the government of the country, and the most fertile lands. Retaining for themselves the fine and wealthy Andalucia, they relegated the companions of Ṭárîḳ to the arid plains of La Mancha and Estremadura, to the rugged mountains of Léon, Galicia, and the Asturias, where they had to wage incessant warfare with half-subdued Christians." "Saragossa was the only part of Northern Spain in which the Arabs were in the majority."[1] Such a state of things could only lead to trouble. Till the close of the ninth century the Berbers remained independent masters of Jaen, Elvira, Estremadura, and Alemtejo,[2] and in Carmona they ruled till the eleventh century, when the Arabs were compelled to yield to their implacable foes under the leadership of Bádis, ameer of Granáda. Later on a king of Seville suffocated the three Berber princes of Ronda, Moron, and Xeres in a steam-bath. When in the first years of the eleventh century the Ummeyi khalîfas of Spain sent help to the usurper El Manṣûr, the Berbers of Europe revolted in protest, but were overpowered. As a penalty they were forbidden either to ride or bear arms in Córdova, and were forced to submit to the same insults and indignities which Jews who live among Mohammedans must still endure. Finally an order was issued for their expulsion, but they were powerful

1010.

[1] Dozy, p. 257.
[2] See Ibn Hayyán, fol. 173 and v. 99 r.–100 r. (Dozy, vol. ii., p. 259).

enough to support a rival to the throne, Sulaïmán (El Mustaâïn b'Illah*), under whom they captured Córdova, and put the khalîfa El Hishám to death.[1] It was nevertheless the puerile ambition of even a king of Granáda to prove his tribe, the Sanhája, to be of Arab, not Berber, descent.[2] In Morocco the Berber dynasties which successively conquered Spain were proud of their birth, but in the artificial atmosphere of Muslim rule in Europe they would fain conceal it. Thus it has come to pass that even serious historians have employed throughout the misleading expression, "Arab dominion in Spain."

The Arabs in Morocco.

In Morocco the Arabs played a still smaller part. Spain was their El Dorado, and it does not appear that there was ever any general migration from east to west in North Africa until the middle of the eleventh century, when almost all the Arab tribes now settled in Morocco found their way across.[3] The origin of this movement was the transportation by the khalîfa El Ázîz—after the Kamáta rebellion, half a century before—of large numbers of Arabs from Nejd and the Ḥajaz to Upper Egypt, where they never satis-
1049. factorily settled. So they turned their steps towards the more promising West, of which the Fátimi khalîfa "made them a present," and it is estimated that from one hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand Arabs migrated on this occasion.† Those who reached

* "He who seeks help from God."

† Mercier estimates the number distributed in Barbary at two hundred thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand.[4] En-Náṣiri gives the names of the immigrant Arab tribes as the Beni Hashem, Beni Mâáwîa bin Bakr, Beni Hilál bin Áámr bin Ṣáṣâ, and Beni Solaïm bin Manṣûr.[5]

[1] El Makkári.
[2] Ibn Hayyán apud Ibn Bassám, v. 1, fol. 122 r. (Dozy).
[3] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., and iv., p. 259, and De Slane's notes on that writer, p. xxix.
[4] *Etablissement des Arabes*, p. 143.
[5] Ar. vol. ii., p. 77.

Morocco—just about the time that the Murábṭi invasion occurred, when all the petty states into which the country had been divided were united under the house of Tashfîn*—found their homes upon the plains of which they have since remained masters, while most of the Berbers were content with their inaccessible mountains. To these Hîláli Arabs the province once known as Sajilmása owes its change of name, having been called by the Berbers Tahîlált, or 'the Place of the Hîláli,' which has been corrupted to Tafîlált.† Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, in the following century, also introduced Arabs, this time from Tunis.

* See chapter iv.

† See *The Land of the Moors*, chap. xx.

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck

AN ARAB CAMP IN MOROCCO

SHARIEF'S HOME
AT BENI-'AÏSH,
ANJERA, MOROCCO.

CHAPTER THE THIRD

THE FOUNDATION OF EMPIRE

(IDREESI PERIOD)

788–1061

ON the dispersion of the family of the Imám Mohammed bin 'Abd Allah, fifth in descent from the so-called prophet,—in consequence of their unsuccessful rivalry with the 'Abbási khalîfas Abu Jâafar el Mansûr and El Mehdi—one of the Imám Mohammed's brothers, Idrees or Enoch, fled into Egypt.* He was accompanied by a faithful follower named Rasheed, and the two, forced by emissaries of the khalîfa to flee yet further, struck across North Africa, until they reached Morocco at Tangier, then its chief city.

Whence the Stock.

762, 785.

Volubilis,[1] the ancient Roman city, six days inland, was at that time under a certain 'Abd el Majîd of the Aûrâbà tribe,[2] a partisan, we are told, of the Muâtazila or Shîâ

* The immediate cause of his flight was an unsuccessful rising of his family at Mekka and Madîna. "Strange to say this arose from the intemperance of some members of the saintly house of 'Ali, who, for drinking wine, were paraded with halters about their necks in the streets of the holy cities. The family thereupon broke out into rebellion, and some hard fighting was needed before peace could be restored. Among those who escaped was Idrees, great-grandson of 'Ali, aided by postal relays . . . The post-master of Egypt was beheaded for having connived at his flight."[3]

1 RAÔḌ EL ḴARṬÁS, p. 7.
2 IBN KHALDÛN, vol. i., p. 290.
3 Sir WILLIAM MUIR, *The Caliphate*, 1891, p. 470.

sect,* to which the Persians belong. This sect upholds the direct succession of Mohammed's family through 'Ali ibn Abu Ṭáleb, in opposition to the Turks and other Sunnîs who accepted the 'Abbási khalîfas. Therefore to Volubilis the fugitive Idrees repaired, finding there not only a home but a kingdom. Within six months of his arrival 'Abd el Majîd proclaimed him king, with the support of his own clan and that of the Zanátà and other surrounding Berber tribes,† of whom few were really Mohammedans, the greater part being still Jews, Christians, or idolaters.[1]

Proclamation of Idrees the Elder. 788.

Then commenced the usual religious warfare, the jehád, in which successively the provinces of Támsná, Tádla, and the East of the Maghrib became involved. The city of Salli, or Shella, whichever was the one then in existence, soon fell before Idrees, and thus was provided a centre round which those fierce Berber tribes could rally. As each fresh district succumbed, its strength was added to the overwhelming torrent of the Idreesi party, which in a short time became irresistible.

Mulai Idrees himself was not fated to rule for long. Three years later he suddenly breathed his last, and was buried on the mountain of Zarhôn, where a sacred town known only by his name has grown around his shrine. Rumour of the period

Fate of Idrees I. 791.

* Called Muâtazilas or Separatists in 728, when formed into a sect denying the eternal attributes of God to exist apart from His Nature, believing such an idea to be inconsistent with the doctrine of God's Unity. The name Shîâs or "followers"—*i.e.*, of 'Ali, Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law—originated much earlier, the great split having taken place in 680 (60 A.H.). The two are now confounded.

† The names of the first tribes to join him are given by Ibn Khaldûn as the Zawághà, Lawátà, Sadrátà, Nafzà, Ghâïátà, Miknásà, and Ghomárà, of whom the last three retain their semi-independence to-day. Among the first attacked were the Bahlûlà (who still inhabit a small town near Fez), and the Mediônà, also existing to the present time.

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, pp. 14–16; also Ibn Khaldûn.

ascribed his unexpected death to jealousy upon the part of the khalîfa of Baghdád, the great Hárûn er-Rasheed, hero of the *Thousand Nights and One*, who was believed to have despatched a messenger to do his business secretly.[1] The wily emissary, posing as a fellow-refugee and partisan, obtained the confidence and friendship of Idrees, but only to abuse them on the earliest occasion. It

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck

AN ATLAS VALLEY

is said that, to relieve the toothache from which the prince was suffering, he provided some poisonous drug, though this after all may only have been misapplied. But his immediate flight was regarded as proof positive of guilt, and in hot haste Rasheed successfully pursued him.

Position of the Idreesis.

To understand the object of the 'Abbási khalîfa—"Aaron the Upright"—it must be remembered that Idrees, as an 'Aláwi, or descendant of Fátima, Mohammed's daughter, and 'Ali, the last ortho-

[2] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., Ap. iv.

dox khalîfa, was a rival both of the preceding dynasty of the Ummeyyà and of their 'Abbási successors in the East, whose star had risen only forty years before. The Idreesi dynasty was therefore, like the Fáṭimi in Egypt, Shîâ, not Sunni. So also have been the last two Moorish houses of shareefs or nobles, though in all doctrinal matters the Moors are Sunni, that is, they accept the "Traditions"—Sunna—as well as the Ḳor'án, as, indeed, do the Shîâs also.*

Thus there can never be among them the absurdities to which the Persian party, in its hatred of the Turks, has given rein, and Morocco is free from this great religious, or, more strictly speaking, racial, dissension. It was as a claimant to the khalîfate that Mulai Idrees was received by the Morocco Berbers, weary of the treatment they had met with from the Sunni Arabs, and thenceforward they were able to appeal against fanaticism to fanaticism. With a direct descendant of Mohammed at their head, they were protected from the inflaming charge of rebelling against the faithful, for in future they were the faithful, who have ever since maintained their independence.

Progress of their Arms.

Idrees had little more to do to establish a kingdom than most Moorish sultans have to secure the succession, and everything appears to have been settled before he died. His kingdom was but that of Sûs el Adnà, since known as the kingdom of Fez, for to the south of the Um er-Rabîâ the fierce Maṣmûdà Berbers held their own unflinchingly. Among those vanquished in the north we are again told of Christians and Jews,[1] as well as of a goodly remnant of heathen, some of whom are described as Zoroastrians, using fire temples.[2] To the west the rule of Idrees

* Neither the religious division nor the word Sunni is known in Morocco, both being of Persian origin.

[1] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 560. [2] *Ibid.*, l.c, p. 562.

789. extended to Tlemçen, where he founded the great mosque, as testified by an inscription on the mombar or pulpit which existed in Ibn Khaldûn's time. But this town was soon lost, and had to be recovered by
812. his son, who rebuilt the mosque. Eventually Tlemçen was allotted to Sulaïmán, brother of Idrees the
828. elder, who settled there among the Zanátà,

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck

AN ARAB HOME

and established an independent rule. But his descendants were unsuccessful in maintaining a kingdom, and migrated to Sûs.[1] There they have since played an important part as the influential Ḥosaïni shareefs, who continue to trouble the sultans of Fez. Although several times conquered, and for a while incorporated in the Moorish Empire, Tlemçen never formed an integral part of Morocco.

Thus the foundations of empire were laid, and though almost two centuries had to elapse before the super-

[1] Raôḍ el Karṭás, p. 9.

The Outside World.

structure was raised by the Murábṭi dynasty, the coming of Idrees forms its first great historical epoch. Those were stirring times in the West, as in the East, for while Hárûn er-Rasheed taught the Arabs justice in Baghdád, an equally famous man
768-814. exercised power in Europe, Charlemagne—"The Great Charles." Meanwhile, in little, far-off England
783. the Danes over-ran our plains at the same time as Mulai Idrees found a home in Morocco.

Reign of **Idrees II.**

On the death of its founder the prospects of the newly-formed kingdom were far from bright. The untimely end of Idrees had left him without an heir, but at the suggestion of Rasheed, the succession was held in abeyance till the birth of a posthumous son. According to native writers, under Rasheed's tutorship this lad became a prodigy, and before
807. he was quite twelve years old, assumed the reins of government, which he held for twenty-one years. Coins had been struck in his name all the time,* for the faithful Rasheed, who might so easily have usurped the throne, posed merely as regent, until the hand of an assassin laid
804. him low, when his charge was still in his tenth year. Beyond the consolidation and confirmation of the kingdom which his father had set up, and the foundation of Fez as the dynastic capital—where his tomb is the principal shrine,—Idrees the Younger was the hero of no deeds worth chronicling at this distance of time. Of his successors there is still less to relate.

SILVER COIN OF IDREES II.
(*British Museum*)
Struck at Volubilis in 815 A.C.

* The earliest in the British Museum is dated 793.

Mohammed, son of Idrees II., contemporary of our Egbert, partitioned the realm with his seven brothers and Sulaïmán, his great-uncle, a mistake from which his house never recovered. From that time it was divided against itself, and Mohammed I. is the last who possessed a mint of which coins exist. He was first succeeded by one son, 'Ali I., and then by a second, Yaḥyà I., after which, just at the middle of the ninth of our centuries, all trace of dates is lost till three more reigns had passed—those of Yaḥyà's son, Yaḥyà II.; of his cousin, 'Ali II.; and of another cousin, Yaḥyà III. Then, as the tenth century opened, in the time of our Edward the Elder, came the nephew of 'Ali II., Yaḥyà IV., a powerful and learned man, summoned from his province of Er-Rîf.

Record of Idreesi Dynasty.

828.

836, 848.

904.

Still greater misfortunes overwhelmed him, for the Muslim rulers of the East, unable to brook the presence of an independent Shîâ khalîfate in Barbary, fomented discord and despatched assistance to a Mahdi—'Obeïd ibn 'Abd Allah—who had at one time been a prisoner in Tafîlált, but who had established himself in Ifrikîya. Their united forces laid successful siege to Fez, and put an end to the first line of the Idreesîs.*

909, 917.

Ruhán el Ketámi, a usurper, next secured a brief authority, but was soon followed by Ḥasan I. (El Ḥajjám), a great-grandson of Idrees II. through another line, which was destined to maintain the dynasty provincially over half a century longer. But the Miknásà Berbers, who supported the Fátimi interest, were too strong for El Ḥajjám, and although successful in a great battle between Fez and Táza, Fez was lost to him by treason. Mûsà ibn 'Abd el 'Áafîa, the Miknásà leader, entered it as the first of a new

921.

The Miknasa Dynasty.

925.

* See note at end of chapter v.

dynasty,[1] holding the kingdom in fief, however, from the Ummeyyîs of Spain.

Mûsà extended his rule to Tlemçen, and seemed likely
938 to found a powerful house, but on his death his three sons—El Bûri, Madîn, and Ibráhîm—fought for the succession,[2] without either creating history or adding to romance, although their line dragged on for close upon a century.

Thus for some time the Idreesîs retained their hold on the greater part of the kingdom, although the area of their authority diminished constantly. After the loss
Fate of the Idreesis. 929. of Fez they set up their capital at Ḥajrat en-Naṣr—near the present Alhucemas—where a brother of El Ḥajjám, El Ḳásem (known as El Kennûn)
948. ruled for twenty-three years, and was succeeded by Aḥmad I. (Abu el 'Aïsh) his son. The chief event of
934. El Ḳásem's reign was the repulse before Fez of a Fáṭimi army despatched against him from Tunis. Another son, El Ḥasan, followed, the capital of his restricted kingdom being Baṣra, the traces of which may still be observed between El Ḳaṣar and Wazzán. Tangier
972. and Azîla were likewise in his possession until captured by the invading Ummeyyîs. This El Ḥasan II. was the last of his line, for he was carried with his family
974. to Córdova by Ghálib, general of the Ummeyyi Khalîfa, El Ḥákim.[3] Fez had previously been besieged, and El Ḥákim's vassal Mûsà slain, by a Shîâ army from
975. Egypt under one Jaûhár, and Ghálib's campaign recovered the Ummeyyi position.

Next year El Ḥákim exiled El Ḥasan to Egypt, whence he soon after succeeded in returning to raise once more the fallen standard of his house at Baṣra. His success was short-lived, for El Manṣûr, a powerful general, having

[1] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. i., p. 267. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 267.
[3] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 129.

IN THE MOSQUE OF CÓRDOVA
(Eighth Century)

enlisted an army of Zanátà and other Berbers, among whom were the Maghráwà and Beni Yifren, overthrew
985. him and the Miknásà ruler as well, he losing city and life at once.[1] Thus fell the last of the Idreesis, just two years before the last of the race of Charlemagne perished, in the time of Ethelred of England, of Vladimir the Great of Kief, and of the predecessor of Hugh Capet of France. The total duration of their line had been almost two hundred years.* The short-lived Miknásà dynasty can hardly be said to have survived them, although El Bûri's successor, his great-great-nephew El Ḳásem, did reign
1014 over some portion of the kingdom in the early years of the next century.

Nor can the race which followed, the Maghráwà, claim much credit, and they hardly deserve to be regarded as a dynasty. Having mastered Tafilált (then Sajilmásà), under a leader named Zîri ibn Àtîá, they possessed themselves of parts of the kingdom of Fez. In company with the Beni Yifren, one of whom, Yâálá bin Yâálá, entered Fez successfully, Zîri was driven
993. out and slain.[2] He was succeeded in Fez by
1000, 1026. El Mûâz, his son. Of the subsequent sovereigns,
1039 and 1059. Hammáma, Dûnas, and Fatûḥ, little more is known than their names.† Two others, El Moânnasir and

The Maghrawa Dynasty.
976

* The National Library of France possesses a unique collection of Idreesi coins. Idrees I. inscribed on his dinárs a verse from the Kor'án: "Truth has appeared and falsehood has vanished: falsehood is destined to vanish." His mints were at Volubilis (Walîli) and Todghá. His son struck coins at Volubilis, Tangier, Fez, Ujda, and Metghára. The places at which the brothers of Mohammed struck coins which still exist were Tájárjará, Warzîgha, Wargha, Wátîl, Yajarhán, Wazakûr, and Utît, but all have since disappeared. See also the British Museum collection.

† In the French National Collection there is a coin of El Khaïr bin Mohammed (El Mustanṣir b'Illah), who appears to have been a Maghráwi ruler between 961 and 971.[3]

[1] El Makkári, bk. vi., chap. vi., pp. 187, 189.
[2] El Makkári, l.c.
[3] Lavoix, p. 403.

1065 and 1067. Tamîm, indeed, belong to this house, but their short reigns were swallowed up in the struggle against the Murábṭi horde.[1] At this time, too, occurred the great influx of Arabs from Egypt, bringing with them the pure dialect of Nejd, to which Moroccan Arabic owes so much.

Throughout the Idreesi period there had been concurrent dynasties in at least three kingdoms thenceforth to be incorporated in the Moorish Empire. Of these the oldest—older indeed than that of Fez by nearly two centuries, although not destined to play so important a part in the foundation of the Empire—was that of Ḥajrat N'kôr, close to Alhucemas.

Minor Contemporaneous Kingdoms.

(a) *Alhucemas.*

710. There Ṣáliḥ ibn Manṣûr of Yemen had been authorised by the khalîfa, in the time of Mûsà and Ṭárîḳ, to hold the adjoining district of Tamsamán in fief.[2] His descendants were known as the Beni 'Omar; by them

750, 761. Ḥajrat N'kôr was built. This city was hardly completed before it was taken by Normans (Mâjûs), but they were soon driven out.[3] Protected by their mountainous environment, the Beni 'Omar were enabled to survive the usual vicissitudes of dynasties in these parts for three

1015, 1067. hundred years. Their seat was destroyed, and their existence ended, by the conqueror of O'ran, Yâálá ibn Fatûḥ of the Azdájà tribe, who retained possession till the time of Yûsef bin Tashfîn.

Ceuta was then the capital of a small kingdom ruled by the descendants of one Majákîs,* who rebuilt it after the Berbers had destroyed it in their great

(b) *Ceuta.*

740. revolt under Maïṣará. This house retained its independence till the fall of the Idreesîs and the spread of the Miknása power,[4] when Ceuta was captured by

931. 'Abd er-Raḥmán of Córdova. It subsequently

* After whom it took the name of Majákîsa.

1 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iii.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 137.
3 *Ibid.*, l.c., p. 143.
4 *Ibid.*, l.c., p. 136.

passed into the hands of the Berghwátà, a Maṣmûda tribe possessing the plains of Central Morocco from Salli to Saffi, whose authority had been established by one of Maïṣara's generals, Sálih bin Târîf. He had set up as Mahdi with great success,[1] his descendants assuming royal dignity, and reigning till they also were overwhelmed in the Murábṭi invasion.* Until then they

(c) *Central Morocco.* 740.

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck

A HOME IN CENTRAL MOROCCO

had remained idolaters, although Ṣálih, who is described as being a native of Spain of Jewish origin (probably one of the Berber-Jewish families who had accepted Islám and taken part in the invasion), had established among them a religion of his own, based largely on Islám.†

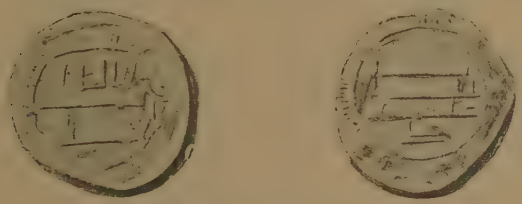
* Coins of a ruler of Ceuta, Saḳût bin Mohammed (El Berghwáti), dated 1069–1073, exist in the French National Collection. He was overthrown by Yûsef bin Tashfîn.[2]

† His Ḳor'án is described in *The Moors.* See Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 181.

[1] Ibn Khaldûn, l.c., p. 125.

[2] See El Makkári, vol. i., pp. 36 and 333; Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., pp. 74 and 154; Raûḍ el Ḳarṭás, pp. 162, 178, and 179, and Ibn Bassám.

In the South there was another independent dynasty, at Aghmát, in the Atlas, afterwards the first Murábṭi capital, (d) *Aghmát.* the germ of the southern kingdom. Only the scantiest information has reached us as to what occurred there, or as to who were its kings. Its last ameer was 1058 to 1067. overthrown by the Murábṭi invaders, and his widow, Zaïnáb, became the wife, first of Abu Bakr, and then of his cousin, Yûsef bin Tashfîn, to the success of whose arms her counsel is believed to have greatly contributed.*[1]



SILVER COIN OF IDREES I.
(*British Museum*)

"There is no god but the one God; He has no partner.

"In the name of God. This dirham was struck at Bedâ (?) in the year one hundred and seventy-four (790 A.C.).

"Mohammed is the messenger of God. The prayers of God be on him and peace on him who commanded it, Idrees bin 'Abd Allah.

"Truth has appeared, and falsehood has vanished, for falsehood was destined to vanish."—Ḳor'án, s. xvii., v. 83.

* Of this ancient capital very little trace remains beyond its name, borne by one of the gates of its successor, Marrákesh. Its site is at the entrance to the Ûrîka Valley, at the foot of the Great Atlas, some three hours south of Marrákesh,[2] and in its palmy days under the Murábṭis it was a great centre of trade with Timbuctoo.[3] Beaumier speaks of it as still possessing some 5500 inhabitants, with 1000 Jews, but he was probably referring to the district, of which he speaks as a day's journey south of Marrákesh, on the Tafîlált road.[4] Davidson tells of ruins at Tasermût, one day from Marrákesh, which were three miles in circumference, with walls, gates, baths, and arches of rude unhewn stone still standing, the arches built without keystones.[5] Then from Idreesi we learn that there was a second town, Aghmát 'Aïlán, six miles to the east, inhabited exclusively by Jews, who were not permitted to reside in the metropolis, and outside their own walls their lives were at the mercy of anyone.[6]

1 *Ibid.* l.c., p. 272, and Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás. 2 Abu'l Feda. 3 Idreesi, p. 76.
4 Note to Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 178. 5 p. 58. 6 p. 79.

SAINTS' SHRINE NEAR AZILA

CHAPTER THE FOURTH

THE CONSOLIDATION OF EMPIRE

(MURÁBṬI PERIOD)

1061-1149

CONTEMPORARY with the Norman conquest of the Saracens in Sicily, and of the Anglo-Saxons in south-eastern England, rose the Moorish Empire, of which hitherto the foundations alone had been laid. Not one of the petty Berber States into which Morocco was then divided was able to take the lead or to coerce the others, and it was not until an outside kindred power came amongst them, and by one fierce on-rush broke down tribal barriers, that it was possible to weld them into one. Such a power was the house of Tashfîn, afterwards known as the Murábṭi*

1061. 1066.

State of Morocco

* On the authority of ancient writers whom he names, the author of Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás[1] tells how these Berbers earned their name of Murábṭi, which by European writers has been corrupted into "Almoravide." One of their leaders, Yaḥyà bin Ibráhîm, having abdicated that he might perform the pilgrimage to Mekka, on his way home met at Ḳairwán a learned teacher from Fez, who, hearing from him of the ignorance of the Sanhájà, tried in vain to institute a mission from his students for their instruction. Nevertheless he succeeded in inspiring Yaḥyà with a zeal to perform this task, in which he found a colleague among the pupils of a teacher of Jebel Nafîs. This colleague not only induced the Lamtûnà to heed his words, and among other reforms to reduce their unlimited number of wives to the four allowed by Mohammed, but gathered round him, in a hermitage which he established, a thousand of the principal Sanhájà. These he daily instructed, and they

[1] pp. 165 to 174.

dynasty, originally nomads of the Sáḥara. Although Sanhájà Berbers[1]—similar in stock to the Tûáreḳs, who still inhabit parts of South Algeria, they are sometimes described erroneously as Arabs, on account of their mode of living. From their desert habit of wearing veils when riding, they were called by the Arabs Mulaththamîn or "veiled," but more generally Lamtûnà, from the lamta or buffalo skins[2] of which their shields were made.

The Lamtûnà or Murábṭîs.

To them the disordered state of Morocco and its sub-divisions rendered it a prey too tempting to resist, and the eleventh century was just half through when they commenced its conquest. Tafilált, the portion nearest to them, was the first to be subdued, and next year Sûs was at their feet. Then they crossed the Atlas, and Aghmát, held at that time by the Beni Yifran of Tádla,[3] fell before them. The surrounding Maṣmûda Berbers, then ruled by the Maghráwà, were conquered next year, as also Tádla. Abu Bakr, the Lamtûnà leader, espoused the defeated king's widow, Zaïnáb the magician, so called on account of her wonderful counsel.

1055–1056.

1057–1058.

Thus far all had gone well, but with the news that the Sáḥara was in revolt came the need of the leader's presence at home. Yûsef bin Tashfîn, his cousin, was left in command, and, moreover, in possession of Zaïnáb, whom Abu Bakr declared

Yusef bin Tashfin. 1061–1106.

became known as Murábṭîn (plural of Murábiṭ, "bound," *i.e.*, in a religious Order, and therefore attached to its hermitage or ribát). When duly prepared they proclaimed a jehád against their irreligious kinsmen, promising, if need were, to slay their own fathers. At the point of the sword large numbers were forced to join them, and the Lamtûnà made Yaḥyà their king. Having conquered the western Ṣûdán and the adjoining Sáḥara, they turned their steps towards Morocco.

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 162; Ibn Ḳhaldûn, vol. ii, p. 67.
[2] Marmol, vol. i., p. 52. [3] Ibn Ḳhaldûn, vol ii., p. 71.

Photograph by Dr. Ruadduck

AN ATLAS VALLEY

he loved so much that he could not contemplate her being left a widow should he not return. He therefore divorced her, bidding her marry his cousin as soon as the days of her purification were ended.[1] By means of the power he thus acquired, Yûsef extended his rule so widely, and established his authority so firmly, that Abu Bakr—whom the tidings found victorious over his foes—hastened back to resume control. But the sweets of independence were not as easily relinquished, and Yûsef had formed his plans. When his chief arrived he was met by the Vice-regent on horseback as by an equal, followed by a formidable army and a valuable caravan of presents, which he was informed were for his use in the inhospitable Sáḥara. Understanding this as a hint to return in peace—due, so it is said, to Zaïnáb's advice,—the poor ameer accepted the gifts with what grace he could, and re-crossed the Atlas, ultimately dying from a poisoned arrow while in battle with the infidels.[2]

I. II.

COIN OF AN UNKNOWN AMEER (GOLD)

(*British Museum*)

I. *Area.*—"There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the messenger of God.

"Ameer Ibrahîm ben Abu Bakr."

Margin.—"Whoever shall profess any religion than Islám shall in no wise be accepted by God, and shall perish at the last day."

II. *Area.*—"The Imám, a slave of God,* Prince of the Believers."

Margin.—"In the name of God this dînár is struck in Sajilmása in the year 462 (1069)."†

1087.

* This phrase which, when interpreted as "'Abd Allah," a proper name, has greatly puzzled numismatists, appears also on the coins of the Sâadi dynasty, as on the illustration given in chap. vii., so that it can hardly have referred—as has been supposed—to some particular khalîfa, at Baghdád or elsewhere.

† Coins of the years 1069 and 1072 bear the name of the Ameer Ibrahîm, son of Abu Bakr, unmentioned by historians, so that he was probably ruler

[1] RAÓḌ EL ḲARṬÁS, p. 186. [2] IBN ḴHALDÛN.

Thus Yûsef I. (bin Tashfîn) became ameer of the Maghrib. He is described[1] as a man of medium height, thin, hardy, ceaseless in his care of the State and his subjects; generous, kind, though austere in his mode of life; like a wise man clothed entirely with wool, and living solely on barley, meat and camel's milk. He was fifty-six years of age
1060. when entrusted with vice-regal power, and he died at the age of a hundred,*[2] having reigned forty-seven years since the forced abdication of Abu Bakr. The

Building of Marrákesh.
1062. year after his first appointment he acquired the ground on which the city of Marrákesh stands, and pitched his tent thereon, erecting a small fortress to protect his valuables. Next he built a mosque, on which he laboured with his own hands, at a place thereafter known as Sûr el Khaïr—"Wall of Prosperity."[3] Wells were dug and trenches cut, and soon a colony was gathered round him, though he never
1132. erected a wall, a task which fell to his son after seventy years.†[4]

Fez continued to be recognised as the metropolis, and whoever ruled there possessed in a measure a prescriptive

Improvement of Fez.
1063. right to imperial powers. For this reason its capture was Yûsef's first task, and one in which he was successful, after having first taken Sefrû. But while away on another expedition Fez was recovered

over Sajilmása only.[5] Abu Bakr himself had struck coins, one of which is given by Adler (*Collect. Nov. Num. Cuf.*), p. 133, but the date 472 (1079) is either a mistake for 462, or it is a proof that Abu Bakr continued independent rule in the Sáhara.

* A hundred and four according to the Arab calendar.

† The peculiar colour of the soil of the district in which Marrákesh stands, most striking in its mud-built walls, has conferred upon it the same epithet for the same reason as that which distinguishes the palace of Granáda, "El Ḥamrá"—"The Red."

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 190; Ibn Khaldûn. 2 Holál el Manshîya.
3 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 195. 4 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 73.
5 Lavoix, p. xlii.; Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, pt. i., p. 344.

by its former owners. A few years afterwards, however, 1069. Yûsef re-entered it, and caused a fearful massacre of its inhabitants. Over three thousand men were killed in the Ḳarûeeïn and Andalûs mosques,[1] and the streets were filled with corpses. From that time Fez dates its prosperity, for the new ameer, as became a victorious empire builder, spent great pains in its improvement and embellishment. Significant of his policy throughout the country was his demolition of the walls which had hitherto separated the rival Ḳarûeeïn and Andalûs sections, making the city one. Mosques, baths, fandaḳs,* mills and other public buildings rose on every hand, and the inhabitants of any street which could not boast a mosque of its own were loudly reproached.

Yûsef's armies had in the meantime extended his sway, and had subdued opposing powers until, by the capitula- 1077. tion of Tangier, he found himself master of the *Growth of Empire.* whole country with the exception of Ceuta, 1083. which held out for several years. He was the first entitled to be called an Emperor of Morocco. Forthwith he began the conquest of Algeria by capturing Tlemçen, where he superintended the foundation of 1080. the modern town. To this foreigners were welcomed to encourage trade, which speedily grew and flourished. The district of O'ran also succumbed, and the Moorish Empire extended nearly to Algiers.

Spain too, heard of the conqueror's fame, greatly enhanced by reports of the skill of his followers in the use of weapons of war—"from the sharp-edged sword, which, handled by them, cuts a horseman in twain, to the ponderous lance which goes through both horse and rider." At the rumour of projected invasion the

* The caravan-sarais of the East.

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 198.

Alarm of the Muslims of Spain.

hearts of the Spaniards sank. Acting under the advice of the King of Seville, the most powerful of their number, the petty Andalucian rulers between whom the erstwhile formidable empire of the Ummeyyà had become divided, addressed to Yûsef a joint epistle, in the following words [1]:—

"If thou desist from thy undertaking and do not attack us, thou wilt act generously, and thy name will not be coupled with an unjust or dishonourable deed. On the other hand, if we answer thy call, and acknowledge thee master, we shall do that which is wise and prudent, and thou wilt remain where thou now art, and allow these poor dwellers in tents to continue as they are, for upon their preservation depends, to a certain extent, the duration and strength of thy empire."

Wise words, but what language this from the rulers of Muslim Spain to the Berber! Truly the tables had turned. Yûsef knew not Arabic,[2] and only uttered in reply when this was interpreted to him, "B'ísm Illah!—In God's Name!"—by which he meant to grant their request. With the returning messengers others were sent, bearers of costly presents, among which was one of the shields of Yûsef's tribe, whereof the covering was a

DÎNÁR OF YÛSEF BIN TÁSHFÎN (GOLD)
Struck at Córdova in 1103.
(*From Codera*)

Inscription.—"There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the messenger of God.

"The Ameer Yûsef bin Tashfîn.

"And he who seeks religion outside Islám, it shall not be accepted from him, and his recompense shall be with the banished [3]

"The Imám, the slave of God, Prince of the Believers.

"In the name of God this dînár was struck in Córdova in the year six and ninety and four hundred."

[1] EL MAKKÁRI, bk. viii., chap. v., on the authority of ER-RAÔḌ EL MUÂṬṬAR.
[2] Ḳor'án, s. iii., v. 99. [3] *Ibid.*, l.c., p. 276; IBN KHALDÛN, vol. iv., p. 450.

skin of the *lamt*, an animal unknown in the peninsula, but typical of his original home.*

Thus the evil day was postponed for a time, but soon the growing power of Alfonso the Sixth of Léon—surnamed the Valiant—caused the Mohammedan princes to despatch three ḳáḍis and a wazeer to invite as their ally him whom they had recently dissuaded from appearing as their foe. The crafty Berber affected at first to have too much to do in Africa, and it was not till the ameer of Seville came in person to beseech him, and sent him the keys of Algeciras, that he consented, the Andalucians taking the wise precaution to obtain his promise that he would not dethrone them.[1] Then, after two years of preparation, during which he built himself galleys, Yûsef landed at Algeciras, and proceeded to Seville. Alfonso lay at Badajoz, on the Portuguese frontier, and the two kings met hard by at Sacralias, known to the Moors as Zalláka,[2] of which spot all trace has been lost.

Invasion of Spain.

1086.

Yûsef having offered Alfonso the choice of Islám, tribute or death, in an epistle "long and elegantly written," which aroused a fiery indignation in the mind of its recipient, "indicative of its miserable state," the "Christian bishops and monks held up their crosses in the air, and displaying their gospels, pledged themselves to die for their religion."[3] So they did, for the fierce Berbers carried all before them, and their own writers say that there were slain of the Christians twenty-four thousand horsemen and two hundred thousand

* Ibn Haûkal, however, says that these shields were so named from Lamta, a town in the further Sûs, from which, possibly, the animal itself may have been named. See p. 62, note *.

[1] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 77. [2] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 206; Holál, vol. ii., p. 197.
[3] El Makkári, l.c. Recorded in a letter of Yûsef's, 2p. Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 213.

footmen.* Arab writers tell how Alfonso, to gain time and opportunity, suggested that the armies might repose on the Friday and Sunday, their respective days of worship, fighting on the Saturday only, but Yûsef saw through the ruse, and ordered an immediate attack. After the day was won heaps were made of the heads of Spanish officers, from which the mûdhdhens summoned the victors to prayer! Forty thousand heads are said to have been carried to Morocco, and distributed among its cities to adorn the gates.[1]

Flushed with victory, the ameer returned to Morocco, but next year undertook another expedition to Spain, 1088. which proved unsuccessful. He had seen too much of the rich fields of Andalucia, and of its flourishing cities, to be content with his share of the booty. He had tasted blood—Nazarene blood, so sweet to the Muslim raider—and he determined that the next time he visited Spain it should be unhampered by pledges, and free to carve out for himself.

Mohammedan Spain Invaded. 1090.

After two more years of preparation he crossed a third time on his own account, avenging thereby the wrongs of the Berbers by crushing the Arabs beneath their yoke, but bringing Berber and Arab and Spaniard alike under his own rule. To disarm suspicion his first attempt was, as before, directed against the Christians. Having occupied Tarîfa on landing, he proceeded to besiege Toledo, the Spanish capital, but without success. On his way back to Morocco he attacked and conquered the ameer of Granáda, on the pretext that he had not come to his assistance. One of his generals, who had been deputed to obtain the submission of, or to dethrone, the kings of Murcia,

* The total losses of Alfonso, who escaped with only a hundred horsemen to Toledo, are given as eighty thousand horse-soldiers and two hundred thousand foot-soldiers, against but three thousand slain of the Moors.

1 RAÔḌ EL ḴARṬÁS, p. 212.

Almería and Badajoz, during Yûsef's absence, boldly struck for Seville. After a stubborn resistance that city fell, and the king, with his Christian wife Romaica,

THE COURT OF LIONS, ALHAMBRA PALACE, GRANÁDA

was carried to Aghmát, where after five years' exile he died. In order to preclude objections Yûsef had obtained a legal opinion condemning the ameer of Seville for having sought help from the Christians, deemed by jurisconsults a sufficient excuse for his

deposition.[1] Thus was an end put to the petty States which had arisen when the khalîfate of Córdova was broken up. So much importance did Yûsef attach to this conquest, that when nominating his successor he expressly stipulated that henceforth Seville should be the capital instead of Córdova.

Court Transferred to Seville. 1091.

Although the greater part of Portugal was lost to the Moors in the next few years, before the century ended—in the time of our Henry I., when the earliest crusaders were appearing at Jerusalem—the Murábṭi were masters of the whole of Spain. To secure at least his neutrality in the struggle, they tacitly acknowledged the supremacy of the khalîfa of Baghdád, by sending him an embassy with presents, and 'Ali III. only styled himself on his coins* Ameer el Muslimîn (Prince of the Surrendered). Nevertheless he was really independent, and his subject princes did not hesitate to hail

1095.

* The Murábṭi coins in the British Museum are 114 in number, forming one of the most complete sets in the national collection, as every prince but Ibráhîm bin Tashfîn, a child, is there represented. The coins are chiefly of gold, clearly stamped, and of a high standard, the average weight being 6.17 grammes. They were struck at Aghmát, Fez, Marrákesh, Sajilmása, Tafîlált, and Tlemçen,[2] as also in Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, and Seville. It is from a corruption of the name Murábṭi, as applied to their coins, that we have the word "Maravedi." The good value of the Murábṭi dînár was such, that it became current throughout the western world of those days, equal in value to, and rivalling, the Constantinopolitan *besant*. But the most curious

IMITATION "MARAVEDI" OF ALFONSO VIII. (GOLD)
(*From Codera. Also in British Museum*)

[1] EL UFRÁNI, p. 124.

[2] See STANLEY LANE-POOLE, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, vol. v., 1880, class xix.; and *Add.*, vol. ii., 1890. Also CASIRI's translation of the *Regum Almorabitarum* Series of El Khalibi.

him as Ameer el Mû'minîn[1] (Prince of the Faithful), a title only borne by the khalîfas.

Administration of Yûsef I.

The reign of Yûsef was marked not only by the consolidation and growth of the Moorish Empire, but by a wise administration. Every year he made a tour of a great portion of his dominions, thus keeping employed and well in hand the forces which might otherwise have overthrown him. He had gathered round him learned counsellors, and although confining his taxes to those authorised by the Ḳor'án, he amassed more riches than any who preceded him.[2] In Morocco his borders stretched to the "Mountain of Gold," an unidentified feature of the western Ṣûdán. His was *the* reign of his house, and his the character which turned a simple raid into the conquest of an empire. He was the leader for which the Moroccan and Spanish kingdoms were waiting, though their actual sovereigns always showed fight, and were sometimes able, by the help of their armies, to withstand him for a time. The common people only wanted a strong, wise ruler, and, tired of the oppression of their own chiefs, were nothing loth loyally to accept the man who could overthrow them.

thing about this coin is that Alfonso VIII. was forced to imitate it in self-defence, retaining its Arabic inscriptions, which he adapted to the Christian faith. On it he appeared as "Ameer of the Catholics," and the Pope of Rome as the "Imám of the Church of Christ." It was issued "in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one only God," in place of the Muslim creed; and "Whosoever believeth and is baptised shall be saved" stood in place of the denunciation of those who refused to accept Islám.[3] There could hardly be a more curious coin. The author of the Ḳarṭás is in error in saying that this denunciation was added after the battle of Zalláka, as it had already appeared in the year 1058 on the coins of El Mûâz bin Bádis and Abu Bakr bin 'Omar.[4]

Instead of these "Maravedis" the subsequent Muwáḥḥadi ameers coined *square* dirhams,[5] which were only discontinued in 1670,[6] to be replaced by the present round pieces.

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 193; Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii. [2] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás.
[3] See Lavoix, *Cat. des Monnaies Mussulmanes de la Bibliothèque National*, Paris, 1891, p. xxxi. [4] *Ibid.*, p. xli. [5] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 168. [6] Ez-Zaiáni, p. 22.

This is how it happens that we see the conqueror of one day the popular general of the next.

Of 'Ali, Yûsef's son and successor, there is not much to tell. His nature was rather that of a devotee than of a ruler, and his empire was controlled by religious teachers. Yet during his reign, which lasted thirty-seven years, no less than three expeditions were undertaken to Spain. In the first—one of the most important of such enterprises—while he failed in his attempt on Toledo, he captured Madrid, Oporto and Lisbon, "purging the whole of those western provinces (El Ghárb or 'Algarves') from the filth of the infidels."[1] Then the tide turned. Saragossa was restored to the Aragonese, assisted by the French and by the introduction of artillery or "thunderers,"* which brought the ameer back in the following year for a successful expedition, and two years later for a third. On the last occasion he was recalled by the ill news of a rising power in Morocco —which was to supplant his house—that of Mohammed bin Tûmart, whose disciples were to found the Muwáḥḥadi dynasty. To leave things more secure in Spain, he took the precaution of transporting to his towns of Mequinez and Salli many thousands of the tributary Christians settled in the kingdom of Granáda,[2] who, by reason of the assistance they were wont to render to the Spaniards, were most dangerous subjects.

Ali III. (bin Yusef). 1106–1143.

1109.

COIN OF 'ALI III. (GOLD)
(*Struck at Aghmat in* 1107)

Inscription as on the coins of his father, but with the title "Ameer el Muslimîn" for himself for the first time.

1118.

Muwáḥḥadi Rising. 1119, 1121.

1126.

* Er-râdât.

[1] EL MAKKÁRI, bk. viii., chap. i. [2] *Ibid.*, bk. viii., p. 306.

Mohammed bin Tûmart soon afterwards died, and his
1130. pupil 'Abd el Mû'min was at once set up as 'Ali's rival. For thirteen years the ameer lived to maintain
1143. the struggle. The fact of his death at Marrákesh was concealed for three months till Tashfîn, his son by a Christian slave, could be proclaimed as his successor.* Tashfîn had reigned but a year when the Murábṭi dynasty was put an end to by the decisive victory of 'Abd el
1144. Mû'min near Tlemçen. Tashfîn escaped to O'ran, but when that town fell before his relentless rival he was forced once more to flee. Mounted on a "wind-drinking mare," in the darkness the
Fate of the Murábṭis.
1145. unlucky ameer was carried over a precipice, wherein he met his death,† at a spot still known as the "Salto del Caballo."‡

In Spain affairs had been steadily growing darker, for at Ourique 'Ali's forces had been vanquished by Alfonso I.,
1139. Count of Portugal—who had been thereupon made king—while Alfonso VIII. of Léon had defeated the Moors in the preceding year. This induced 'Abd el
1144. Mû'min to despatch an army at once, both to drive back the Christians and to secure the Empire for
1146. himself. But the second crusade was about
1147. to start, and, with its assistance, Lisbon was recovered by the Portuguese.

After Tashfîn came a weak and incapable son, Ibráhîm, I., from whom 'Abd el Mû'min took Mequinez in the first year
1146, 1147. of his reign, and Fez and Salli in the second, when Ibráhîm was put to death. Is-hák, his son, inherited

* From 1136 to 1144 coins had been struck at "Nûl Lamta," possibly Nûn or Glîmîn in Sûs. See French National Collection.

† Tashfîn bin 'Ali did not die in 539 (1144) as stated in Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, as there exists in the British Museum one of his coins struck in Seville in 540 (1145).

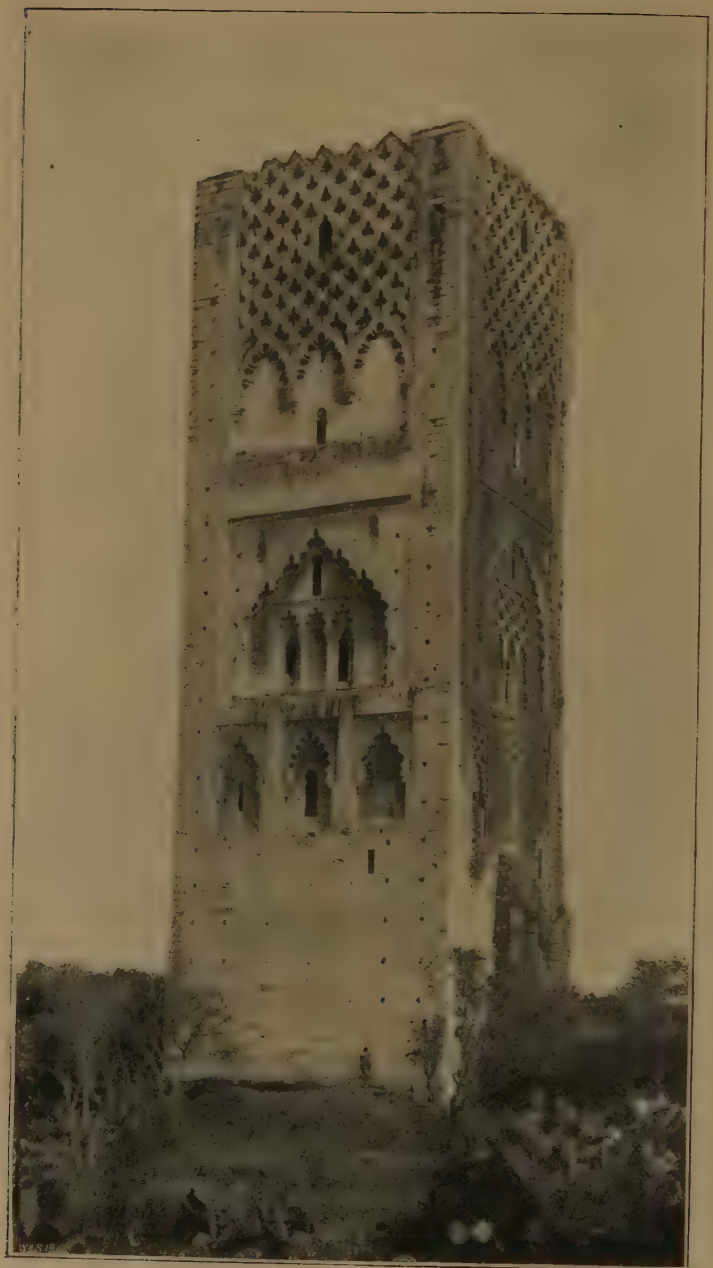
‡ "The Horse's Leap." The scene lies some three kilomètres from the town, near the "Bains de la Reine."

what remained of the Murábṭi Empire, but after two more
1149. years of ineffectual struggle, 'Abd el Mû'min was established firmly as the emperor of all Morocco and Muslim Spain. The fugitive Murábṭis sought a refuge in the Balearic Islands[1] till they went to Tunis, where they unavailingly attempted to restore the fortunes of their house. So terminated their career of ninety years.

[1] El Makkári, bk. ix., p. 86.

Photograph by Herbert E. White, Esq.

A COUNTRY KAṢBAH (M'TURGA)



From a photograph by Cavilla, Tangier

THE UNFINISHED HASAN TOWER AT RABAT (*cir.* 1200 A.C.)

CHAPTER THE FIFTH

THE EXTENSION OF EMPIRE

(MUWÁḤḤADI PERIOD)

1149–1269

GREAT as had been the effect of the Murábṭi invasion, and wide as under them had grown the limits of the Empire of which they were practically the constructors, there had been for some time rising in the Atlas mountains a religious force, whose destiny it was to stretch the Moorish Empire far beyond the dreams of Yûsef bin Tashfîn. At its head was Mohammed ibn Tûmart, perhaps the most remarkable of all the figures which appear upon the stage of Moorish history.

Ibn Tûmart *the Mahdi.*

A native of Sûs—although a member of the Hargha tribe* of Maṣmûda Berbers—he laid claim† not only to Arab descent, but also to descent from Mohammed, either through a family which came to Morocco with Mûsà,[1] or through Sulaïmán the brother of Idrees, whose family had settled in those parts.‡[2] As a youth he visited the East for purposes of study, and acquired a great reputation for strictness in religious duties, by the fearless way in which

* Since lost sight of.

† By a holograph genealogy, declared by Ibn Khaldûn to be a forgery (vol. i., p. 251). Ibn Khallikán says that the first Muwáḥḥadis acknowledged the 'Abbási khalîfas. ‡ See p. 39.

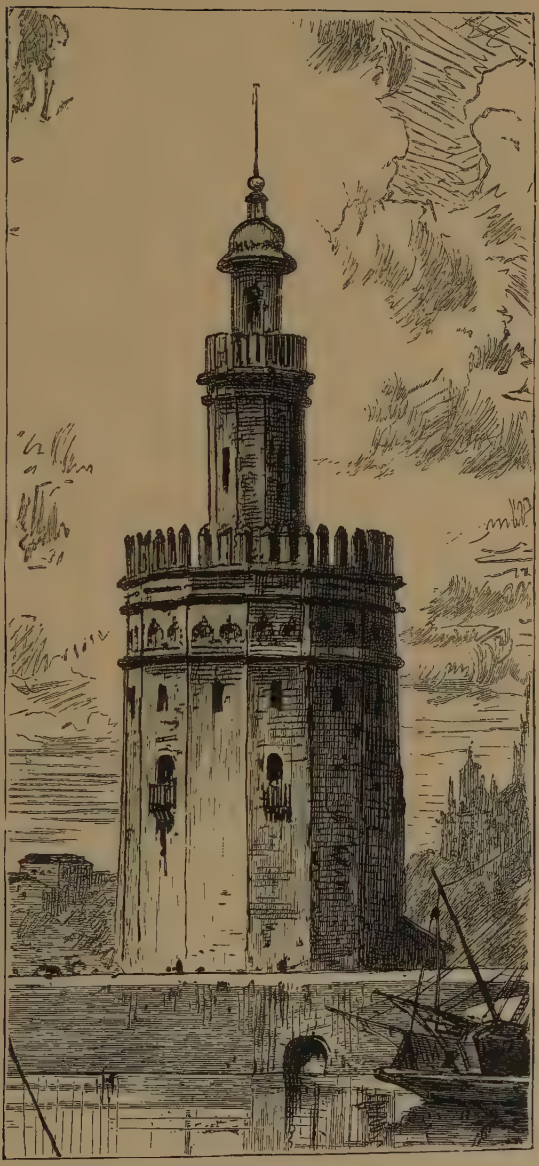
[1] RAÔḌ EL ḲARṬÁS, p. 242; 'ABD EL WÁḤḤID, p. 128 ('92, p. 205); IBN KHALLIKÁN, vol. iii., p. 206. [2] IBN KHALDÛN, vol. ii., pp. 163–4.

he attacked all laxness in others, even to the extent of breaking their wine jars and musical instruments. "Pious and devout, he lived in squalid poverty, subsisting on the coarsest fare and attired in rags, yet exhibiting good nature in his face, and ever manifesting a propensity to acts of devotion. He carried with him no other worldly goods than a staff and a water-skin; his courage was great; he spoke correctly both the Arabic and Moorish languages; he blamed with extreme severity the conduct of those who transgressed the Divine law . . . and suffered with patience the vexation to which this exposed him."[1] The unveiled faces of the Murábṭi women were especially abhorrent to him.

Such a course met with the usual fate. Expelled from Mekka, and refused an asylum in Egypt or Tunis by the well-to-do against whom he inveighed, he found a refuge among the less corrupt although more superstitious Berbers of the Moroccan Atlas. At the then existing village
1120. of Tînmálalt—"White Mountain"—one day's journey beyond Aghmát, near the source of the Wád Nafîs, the mountaineers were able to protect him even against their ameer, whom also he had offended by his plain speaking.* His age was then but eight-and-twenty, and he is described as "of medium stature, though slight,

* On hearing of the Mahdi the ameer had sent for him, and on expressing surprise at finding him so poor, was informed that he thought only of the world to come, not of this, where his only business was to teach men to do good and cease from evil, proceeding to address the magnate in the most outspoken terms. Like Pharaoh of old, the ameer summoned his wise men to refute him, but their uproar growing unseemly, two were chosen to examine him. Taking the bull by the horns, he inquired of his judges: "Tell me—are the ways of knowledge limited, or not?" "Yes, to the Ḳor'án, its commentaries, and the traditions," was the reply. "Can you not confine yourselves to my question, according to rule?" asked the Mahdi. The wise men not being ready to answer, he proceeded to instruct them that the sources of good and evil are four—knowledge, the source of the right way, and ignorance, doubt, and opinion, sources of evil.[2]

[1] Ibn Khallikán, l.c. [2] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás.



THE "TORRE DE ORO," SEVILLE (1220 A.C.)

with large head, of a tawny complexion, and with piercing eyes."[1] His character, graphically sketched by another Arabic writer,[2] is summed up in the statement that "He would rather shed the water of life [his own blood] than that of the face [his tears, *i.e.*, of shame] . . . 'Whoever follows me,' he said, 'for this world's goods, shall get nothing from me but what he sees here; but whoever follows me for the recompense of the next world shall find his reward with God.'"

Somewhere along his route—authorities are not agreed where[3]—he had encountered a youth named 'Abd el Mû'min, in whom he perceived great powers. On his early death this pupil not only succeeded to his hopes of a worldly kingdom, but lived to enjoy their realisation. Supported by a third confederate, whose part it was to play the fool till the time came for him to have a revelation,[4] and with ten ignorant but sturdy Berbers as bodyguard,[5] he was soon in a position to strike for power, and was proclaimed as the promised infallible Mahdi or "Directed One" of Islám.*

The Muwáḥḥadi Doctrines.

1130.

* The word Mahdi is the passive participle of the first form of the verb *hadà*, "he directed," and it has come to be applied exclusively to some pretender in consequence of Mohammed's prophecy that a "Directed One" should after his death arise to lead the fortunes of Islám. But from the nature of the traditional prophecies ascribed to the Arabian teacher by El Bokhári and others, it appears that no one figure was consistently before him, but rather an indefinite leader who might some day be expected to arise. Nevertheless, Mohammed is held to have stated definitely, "The Mahdi will be descended from me. He will be a man of open countenance and high nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice, even as it has been filled with tyranny and oppression, and he will reign over the earth seven years." Elsewhere his death is foretold at the end of that period, during which "men's lives shall pass so pleasantly that they will wish that the dead were alive again."[6] The Shîâs maintain a tradition that the promised Mahdi shall be "the seal (*i.e.*, the last) of the Imáms, who will conquer all religions, and take vengeance on the wicked."[7]

[1] Ibn Khallikán, vol. iii., p. 214. [2] Kitáb el Muârif.
[3] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 243; Ibn Khallikán, l.c., p. 208; Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 164.
[4] Ibn Adhári apud Ibn Khald., append. v. [5] 'Abd el Wáḥḥîd (1892), p. 244.
[6] *Mishkátu 'l Maṣábiḥ*, bk. xxiii., chap. iii. *Ḥiyátu 'l Kulûb*, Merrick's ed., p. 342.

To those who agreed to uphold him he gave the name of Muwáḥḥadi—Unitarian—since a special feature of his doctrine[1] was the stress laid on the absolute Unity of God, apart from whom His attributes cannot exist, enforced by the allegorical interpretation of obscure passages in the Ḳor'án.[2] Because the Murábṭi interpreted these passages literally, he charged them with anthropomorphism,* the conception of God as finite, tangible and visible.[3] By numerous ingenious tricks† he was successful in imbuing the surrounding Maṣmûda tribes with an intense devotion to his sanctity, while by the compilation of several important works in their own tongue — notably the *Murshîdah*, "*Directress*" or "*Guide*," and the *Taûḥîd* or "*Unity*,"[4]—he impressed them with an admiration for his learning.‡

At last his followers came to blows with the imperial troops, and although they were able to cut off a body of

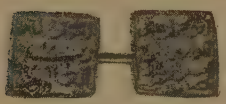
* Calling them Mujássimîn or "Corporealists."

† For instance, after a battle with the Lamtûnà in which he was defeated with serious loss, the Mahdi went at night with some of his surviving followers and buried them alive, with only a hole through which to breathe, inducing them to submit to this process by the promise that if they would inform any who made inquiry that they were enjoying in Paradise the rewards of death in conflict with the infidels, he would disinter them, and allot them important posts. Returning to his disheartened supporters, Ibn Tûmart remarked on the good fortune of those who had fallen in battle, adding that if any had doubts they should go and ask the dead themselves. Not to be outdone, they went to the grave-sides and shouted, "O dead Companions, tell us what you have received from God Most High." One can imagine their surprise when gladsome voices from the very earth assured them of a present state of bliss. Further proof was needless, and Ibn Tûmart's cause revived, but as really dead men tell no tales, return of fortune was denied to his accomplices, whose breathing holes the Mahdi filled up after lighting fire over them.[5]

‡ Of the works of Ibn Tûmart, De Slane remarks in a note on the praise of them by Ibn Ḵhallikán:[6] "Having examined the collection of treatises by Ibn Tûmart, I can bear testimony to the correctness with which his talents are

1 See GOLDZIHER, *Zeitschrift d. D. M. Ges.*, vol. xli., p. 30.
2 IBN ḴHALDÛN, vol. ii., p. 257. 3 GAYANGOS on El Makkári, p. 523.
4 RAÔḌ EL ḴARṬÁS, p. 250; IBN ḴHALDÛN, vol. iv., p. 532.
5 RAÔḌ EL ḴARṬÁS and IBN ḴHALDÛN, vol. ii., Ap. v. 6 Vol. iii. p. 215.

Castilian mercenaries sent to collect the local taxes, they were defeated outside Marrákesh, and one of Ibn Tûmart's ten companions was slain. This resulted in a general rising. By union with the seven leading Maṣmûda tribes* Ibn Tûmart gained a following whose force was irresistible, wherewith he overpowered the remaining Berbers, who thenceforward fought by his side. All were organised under a council of fifty, selected from among the chiefs of each tribe, the original bodyguard holding an independent position.[1] 'Abd el Mû'min was placed at the head of affairs, while Ibn Tûmart devoted himself more than ever to the life of a hermit. Thus for once the rival clansmen of the central Atlas—the Maṣmûda Zanátas—were combined against their old foes the Lamtûna Sanhájas.



SILVER COIN OF 'ABD EL MÛ'MIN

Inscription.—"Praise be to God, the Lord of the Universe.

"Abu Mohammed 'Abd el Mû'min bin 'Ali, Prince of the Believers. Jaen (in Spain)."

At this point the death of Ibn Tûmart left the field free to his less austere and more martial disciple, 'Abd el Mû'min, who became the founder of the greatest dynasty

here appreciated. The treatises form a small but closely-written volume, transcribed fifty-five years after the author's death."[2] Another work, called, from its first words, *'Aazzu má Yaṭláb* ("The most precious thing one can seek"), taught the Shîâ doctrine of the infallibility of the Imám. The author of the Ḳarṭás says, "He was without equal for eloquence and knowledge of the sciences."

* These were the Hantátà and Gedmîwà, who still remain, the Hargha and Tînmálal, who were exterminated or dispersed in the subsequent wars, and the Kûmia, Gurfîsa, and Hezerja. The Tînmálal, who rallied round the tomb of Ibn Tûmart as their headquarters, believed, even after the power of the Muwáḥḥadîs had fallen, that he would return to restore it.[3] One section of the confederation, the Siksáwa, long maintained complete independence, proclaiming their own ameers.[4]

[1] 'Abd el Wáḥḥîd, p. 134 (1892, p. 266), *History of the Muwáḥḥadis.*

[2] To be found in the French *Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement. Cat. des MSS. Arabes*, No. 1451. [3] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 260. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 270; 'Abd el Wáḥḥîd, p. 247.

The Muwáḥḥadi Conquest.
'Abd el Mû'min.
1130–1163.

Morocco ever knew.* 'Ali bin Yûsef bin Tashfîn still reigned, however, and though within the next few years[1] the whole of the Drâa and Central Morocco gave way before the fierce
1134. attacks of the mountaineers, nearly a score had passed ere the Empire changed hands. By that time they had extended their operations during a seven years'
1142. campaign in Spain, where, after Cadiz, Xeres
1144. was the first important town to fall. Two years later their Berber supporters, with the help of the ḳáḍi, expelled the Murábṭis from the ancient metropolis, Córdova, where civil dissensions had permitted the Spaniards to make a raid and picket their horses in the great mosque.[2]
1145. Malaga was theirs next year, and 'Abd el Mû'min was proclaimed at Seville, although ten years passed before
1155. he became the master of Granáda.

On the African side during the same period the Muwáḥḥadis were successful. O'ran and Tlemçen first,
1143. then Fez, Salli and Ceuta capitulated, and,
1147. after a siege of eleven months,[3] Marrákesh;† then Aghmát and Tangier, and finally Mequinez, which
1150. had supported a siege for seven years. 'Abd el Mû'min received at Salli the homage of almost the whole of Mohammedan Spain,[4] which, during the contest

* The pupil was no less ingenious than his master, for in view of possible competition on the Mahdi's death, he had trained a lion to follow him like a dog, and had taught a bird to say, "Victory and power belong to the ḳhalífa, 'Abd el Mû'min!" The deliberations of the Muwáḥḥadi Council in the choice of a successor were interrupted by the advent of a lion from the forest, which, having put all the others to flight, crouched at the feet of the unperturbed 'Abd el Mû'min. At the same time the commotion caused a hitherto unperceived bird to shriek and repeat its lesson. The effect was magical, and all opposition was overcome.[5]

† Ibn el 'Athîr says the Murábṭis lost Marrákesh by the defection of their Spanish mercenaries.

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, l.c. Ibn Ḵhaldûn, vol. ii., p. 189. 2 El Makkári. 3 Ibn Ḵhallikán, vol. ii., p. 138. 5 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás.

between the falling and the rising dynasties, had again split up into numerous petty states.* Henceforward the Muwáḥḥadis were supreme, and, turning their attention
1152. to their neighbours, they proceeded to invade Algeria. Algiers, Constantine and Bôna yielded to their
1158. arms,[1] which a few years afterwards won for them Bougie, Tunis, Ḳaïrwán, Sûsa, Gabes, Sfax, Mehedîya,† Tripoli and Barka, the point at which the
1160. Moorish Empire touched its furthest limits.

Such were the glories of the reign of 'Abd el Mû'min el Kûmi‡—the son of a potter[2]—first Muwáḥḥadi ameer,
1167. who thereupon assumed the title of Ameer el Mû'minîn.§ His patron the Mahdi had declared to him: "Thou possessest in perfection all the qualities with which thou art endued, whence joy and happiness for all of us. Thine are the smiling mouth, the liberal hand, the noble soul, the open countenance."[3]

Personality of 'Abd el Mû'min.

Fair, but with ruddy cheeks and dark eyes, shaded by

* "As at the overthrow of the Beni Ummeyyà the provinces of their vast empire had been parcelled out among their generals and governors, so now every petty governor, chief, or man of influence who could command a few followers and had a castle to retire to in case of need, styled himself sultan, and assumed the other insignia of royalty. As the historian Ibn Ḳhaldûn has judiciously remarked, 'Andalûs afforded the singular spectacle of as many kings as it possessed towns.'"[4]

† From the Sicilian Normans, who had held it since 1148.

‡ *i.e.*, a member of the Kûmîya, a tribe on the coast near Nemours (Ghazáwát) in Algeria.

§ The Muwáḥḥadi ameers, in thus laying claim to the ḳhalîfate, adopted the title "Ḳholáfà er-Ráshîdîn," or "Orthodox Lieutenants," a title usually restricted to the first four ḳhalîfas. The title Ameer el Mû'minîn—"Commander of the Faithful," or rather "Prince of the Believers"—corrupted to "Miramolin" by mediæval writers, was adopted by 'Omar on succeeding to the ḳhalîfate as preferable to the alternative—"Successor of the Successor of the Prophet of God," *i.e.*, successor to Abu Bakr.[5]

[1] El Makkári, l.c. [2] Ibn Ḳhallikán, vol. ii., pp. 182–3.
[3] *Ibid.*, l.c., p. 183; also Ḳarṭás and 'Abd el Wáḥḥid.
[4] El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. ii., p. 309.
[5] Ibn Ḳhallikán, vol. iii., p 632; and Ibn Ḳhaldûn.

long lashes, with an aquiline nose and a plentiful beard; tall of stature, and a great horseman,[1] 'Abd el Mû'min was the *beau idéal* of his warriors. At the same time, as strictly religious, as a student, and withal a poet; sympathetic, and endowed with a persuasive voice,[2] he secured the warm support of the bigoted lettered class. His unbiassed judgment and untiring energy enabled him to earn the love and admiration of all. Throughout victorious, he lived through insurrection and intrigue to the age of sixty-three, when he was still described by a contemporary writer[3] as "an aged man of upright stature, with a large head, dark eyes, bushy beard, and callous hands; tall even when seated; with teeth of the purest white, and a mole on his right cheek." Outside
1163. Salli, on the point of invading Spain, surrounded by the largest army he had ever gathered,* "death," says a native writer,[4] "whose fierce blows spare neither great nor small, surprised him."

Of 'Abd el Mû'min's administration there remain abundant traces. To him was due the building of Gibraltar, which he re-named in vain the "Mount of Victory" (Jebel el Fatah). Here his engineers erected the existing castle (now the military prison) and the windmill,[5] which has lent its name to a prominent site. In Africa he founded the new town of Tlemçen, close to the old, and re-built Mequinez. All the mosques, walls and fortresses throughout his empire were by his order repaired, while the aqueduct of Salli also dates from his reign.[6] But the walls of Ceuta

Reign of 'Abd el Mû'min.

1161.

1145-1150.

* According to El Makkári[7] he had mustered three hundred thousand Arabs and Zanátà from his Algerian and Tunisian provinces, and a hundred and eighty thousand Moorish volunteers.

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 288. 2 'Abd el Wáḥḥíd, p. 142 (1892, p. 275).
3 Quoted by Ibn Khallikán, vol. ii., p. 184. 4 El Makkári.
5 El Makkári, bk. viii., p. 315. 6 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, pp. 378-9.
7 Bk. viii., chap. ii., p. 317.

were razed because its people had revolted against him. He was the first to make a complete tithe survey, from Barka to Wád Nûn,[1] between which points the roads for once became secure. After an attempt on his life, rendered

THE MOORISH CASTLE, GIBRALTAR

fruitless by the self-sacrifice of a noble servitor, his own tribe furnished him with a bodyguard of forty thousand men, but his less fortunate wazeer was given poison in milk.[2]

For his expeditions to Spain and Tunis he equipped a large fleet, no less than four hundred vessels being furnished

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 281. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

at once by Tangier, Ceuta, the Rîf ports, and O'ran, to which Spain added eighty.[1] One thing which did much to endear him to his people was his care to recompense all who had succoured him or his patron while poor and unknown, and a lasting memento of his dynasty is the expression with which he ordered his epistles to be headed, "Praise be to the only God!"[2] which it is still the custom to use in Morocco.

Immediately before his death 'Abd el Mû'min nominated as his successor his son Mohammed, who was easily supplanted by his brother Yûsef, since he was addicted to drink, and suffered from a loathsome disease.[3] Yûsef confided the administration of Spain to another brother, 'Omar, until he had thoroughly remodelled that of the Maghrib. He then crossed over to Europe, and transferred his court to Seville,[4] where he ordered the erection of the great mosque and the aqueduct from Carmona.[5] With the exception of Toledo, all the possessions which the Franks had taken from the Muslims were recovered. Ten years later he extended his empire by an expedition to Tunisia, taking Gabes, where there had been an insurrection.[6] A few years afterwards he lost his life while besieging Santarem, in Portugal. Yâḳûb I., his son, thirty-two years of age, was chosen at once to succeed him, and was proclaimed by the army.[7]

Reign of Yûsef II. 1163–1184.

1170.

1180.

1184.

Yûsef II. was one of the wisest and best of the Moorish ameers, a great student,* noble-minded, and

* Especially of medicine and philosophy. He knew the Ḳor'án and the Saḥîḥ el Bokhári by heart,[8] and he was a great collector of books. Aristotle and Plato were among his classics.[9] The great ḳáḍi Mohammed ibn er-Rushd

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 284; Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii.
2 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii. See *The Moors*, chap. xviii.
3 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 474.
4 El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. iii.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 319.
6 'Abd el Wáḥîd, p. 182 (1892, p. 382).
7 Ibn el 'Athîr, vol. ii., p. 288.
8 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 47.
9 'Abd el Wáḥîd, p. 170.

generous. The special feature of his administration was his delegation of power to provincial governors, whom he had the knack of choosing well. The taxes he received from Ifrikîya loaded one hundred and fifty mules,[1] and a like amount was received from Seville,*[2] besides what was derived from Bougie, Tlemçen, and Morocco. During
1178. his reign there appeared in Barbary a new race, which was thereafter to play an important part in the eastern provinces, the Turks, who, however, never managed to secure a foothold in Morocco or Spain, although they were employed in the militia of the Moors, together with Spaniards, Greeks and other foreigners.[3]

With the exceptions of Mulai Idrees and Mulai Ismâïl, no other Moorish ameer is so well known to Europeans, at least by name, as the prince whose reign
Yâkûb el Mansûr. 1184-1199. was now inaugurated before Santarem, to whom his followers gave the title of El Manṣûr—"the Victorious." His father's unusually wise administration, coupled with his still more exceptional policy of employing his son as a wazeer or minister, had given him an admirable training,[4] and his able hand was felt at once. He was a tall, good-looking man, of light brown complexion, with ample limbs, wide mouth, loud voice, and large, dark eyes, clad always in simple wool, "the most veracious of men, and the most elegant in language,"[5] just, even when the interests of his own family suffered thereby. His motto was "'Alà Allah Taûkalt"—"In God have I trusted."† Like so many

(Averroes) was among the learned men he drew to his court: he died there in 1199 under Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, who had a few years previously imprisoned him for literally translating a passage which referred to Venus as a goddess.[6]

* Gold coins were, however, struck in Mohammed's name.

† *Cf.* the motto on the edge of some U.S.A. dollars.

1 'Abd el Wâḥîd, 1892, p. 385.
2 Ibn Khallikân, vol. iv., p. 475.
3 'Abd el Wâḥîd, p. 248.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
5 Ibn Khallikân, vol. iv., p. 353.
6 'Abd el Wâḥîd and Ibn Khaldûn.

other Morocco rulers, he was the son of a Christian slave.[1]

According to custom, two of his brothers and one of

Photograph by Herbert White, Esq.

THE KUTUBÎYA TOWER AT MARRÁKESH

his uncles were killed lest they might prove rivals.[2] A much more reassuring omen for his reign was the distribution of no less than one hundred thousand golden dînárs from the treasury, the opening of all prison doors,

1 'Abd el Wáḥhíd. See chap. x., p. 203, note.

Ibid. (1893, p. 205.)

and a general reparation of outstanding injustices.[1] These measures introduced a method of government so wise, that it is recorded that while Yâḳûb el Manṣûr reigned a woman could travel alone in safety from Wád Nûn to Barka.[2] The same writer says that "he was the greatest of the Muwáḥḥadi kings; the most magnanimous in every respect. His government was excellent; he added to the treasury; he increased his power; his actions were those of a famous sovereign; his religion was deep,* and he did much good to the Muslimîn. May God have mercy on him by His grace, His kindness and His generosity, for He is pitiful, and loves to pardon."

"In the days of Yâḳûb," says another African historian, "conquests succeeded each other without interruption."[3] After establishing his rule in Morocco, he made a successful expedition against the Murábṭi chieftain 'Ali ibn Ghanîá, who had escaped from Majorca, and had set up his standard in Tunis. But urgent matters in Morocco demanding a hasty return, he accomplished the overland journey from Bougie to Tlemçen in seventeen days.[4]

1186-7. *Tunisian Campaign.*

A few years earlier the Fáṭimis of Egypt had been overthrown by "Saladin,"† who had established the Mamelukes in their stead. Now, having taken

1171, 1187.

* Yâḳûb's piety was manifested not only by his love of justice, which he would constantly administer personally, though on occasion giving the bastinado to anyone bringing before him a trivial question, but by his strictness at public prayer five times a day, at which he revived the practice of the orthodox khalîfas of presiding as imám: those who did not attend were flogged; those who drank wine were executed. All decisions were ordered to be based on the Ḳor'án itself, not on the opinions of commentators, according to general custom. It was El Manṣûr who introduced the recitation of the B'ism Illaḥ, "In the Name of God," before the Fátiḥa, or opening chapter of the Ḳor'án.[5]

† Yûsef ibn 'Aïyûb, surnamed Ṣalaḥ ed-Dîn, or, "Soundness of Religion."

1 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 207.
2 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás.
3 El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. iii.
4 'Abd el Wáḥḥid, 1893, p. 38.
5 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 343. (See De Slane's Notes.)

Jerusalem from the Crusaders, the great Saracen leader was desirous of Yâḳûb's assistance by sea in his projected attacks on Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli (Syria). Accordingly he sent to Morocco an embassy with many valuable presents, including two fine Ḳor'áns, balm, aloes, ambergris, musk, and other spices, gold-embroidered saddles, Arab bows and Indian lances.[1] But the envoy was accredited to the Ameer el Muslimîn—"Prince of the Resigned," not to the Ameer el Mû'minîn,[2] so all was in vain. Though kindly received, he went back without having attained his object. Yâḳûb even contemplated invading Egypt himself, "with a view to the suppression of the heresies and other abominations" that flourished there.[3] Nevertheless, a fleet of a hundred and eighty vessels was subsequently despatched to Syria to the assistance of the Saracens.*

Embassy from "Saladin." 1189 or 1191.

But the triumphs of Yâḳûb's reign were his expeditions to Europe. As a place of embarkation he rebuilt at the narrowest part of the Straits the Ḳaṣar Maṣmûda, since known as El Ḳaṣar es-Ṣaghîr, long in ruins. These preliminaries were interrupted by preparations for another Eastern campaign, and a five years' truce was concluded with the Spaniards. This was in its turn set aside in its fourth year by reason of news from Spain that the Franks were collecting an army,[4] and a second invasion was ordered.

1190, 1191.

1194.

The two hosts met on the field of El Arcos, near Calatrava,† where "the engagement began by champions sallying forth to encounter their adversaries in single

* A corruption of the word Sharḳeeïn, "Easterns," or "Levanters," inapplicable therefore to the Moors of Morocco or Spain.

† A corruption of Ḳalâat er-Rabáṭ—"The Camp Fort."

1 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 208.
2 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 344; 'Abd el Wáḥhîd, p. 209 (1893, p. 48).
3 *Ibid.*, p. 206 (1893, p. 48). 4 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii., p. 208.

combat, whilst the armies kept their ground.[1] *Victory of El Arcos.* 1195. At length the issue was joined. Yâḳûb rose from his sick bed and collected one force round the royal tent to focus the attack, while he with a larger force swooped down upon the foe from another direction, carrying all before him.[2] Sixty thousand coats of mail, historians state, were secured for the treasury, and five thousand prisoners were exchanged,[3] while the enemy's total loss was one hundred and forty-six thousand.*[4] The total number carried captive to Morocco to work on Yâḳûb's great buildings has been given as thirty or forty thousand. One of three acts for which he expressed regret on his death-bed was the liberation of these captives, and their formation into a separate tribe,[5] since he feared lest they might re-commence the war. The other acts which troubled him at death were the waste of money over this unfinished town, and the introduction of wandering Arabs from Ifrikîya.[6] As it was, he made yet a third invasion, 1197. his last great step, for he died in the same year as our Richard "Cœur de Lion," who had been opposing "Saladin" in Palestine. The still existing monuments of Yâḳûb el Manṣûr are among the most remarkable in either Morocco or Spain. In Seville the date of his accession was marked by the foundation of the great mosque tower, now known as the Giralda.† Two sister towers of kindred design

El Manṣûr's Monuments. 1184.

* The value of the spoils on such an occasion may well be believed to be, as El Makkári describes it, incredible, for it included fifty thousand tents, eighty thousand horses, one hundred thousand mules, and four hundred thousand baggage asses. A captive was sold for a dirham, a horse for five, and an ass for one—facts more eloquent by far than doubtful native statistics. *Cf.* 1 Sam. xxi. 11.

† This was designed by Ahmad ibn Basa and Abu Dâûd Jalûl ibn Jaldásin,[7] though some have given the architect's name as Guever or Weber.

1 Ibn Khallikán, vol. v., p. 340. 2 El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. iii.
3 Ibn Khaldûn. 4 El Makkári, l.c. 5 See chap. xv. 6 Raûḍ el Ḳarṭás.
7 Ibn Ṣáḥib eṣ-Salát, ap. El Makkári, bk. viii., p. 319.

EXPLANATION.
Original Kingdom of the Idreesîs
The Moorish Empire since the 14th Century
The Moorish Empire in the early part of the 12th Century
The Moorish Empire in the 14th Century (under the Beni Marîn)
The Moorish Empire in the latter part of the 12th Century (Mawáḥḥadi period)
PORTUGAL
Oporto
Lisbon
Badajos
Seville
Cadiz
Tarifa
Tangier
Azila
Larache
Rabat
Salli
W. Bu Regreg
Azammûr
Mazagan
W. Umm Rabîê
Dukalla
Tadla
C. Cantin
Safi
W. Tensift
Mogador
Haha
Rahámna
MARRÁKESH
Atlas Mountains
C. Ghir
Aguadir Ighir
Tarudant
Sús
C. Nún
W. Nún
W. Dráa
Drâa Province
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Moroccan
Swan Sonnenschein & Co Lim., London.

EMPIRE

ERIODS.

in.

were erected across the Straits, the Kûtûbîya of Marrákesh, and the Ḥasan tower of Rabáṭ, but the latter was never finished. The two which were completed were surmounted by a series of gilded metal globes, trophies from the spoils of El Arcos. The gilding of one set alone is said to have required one hundred thousand gold dînárs.[1]

Rabáṭ itself is one of Yâḳûb's monuments, for on his return from the East he there pitched his camp, calling the
1197. town into which he transformed it[2] Ribáṭ el Fátiḥ, "Camp of Victory," in accordance with a prophecy of Ibn Tûmart the Mahdi, who had said that after the Muwáḥḥadis had built themselves a capital they should have victory. The plan is said to have been copied from that of Alexandria,[3] whence its wide, straight streets, so unlike those of the majority of Moorish towns. Most of his cities were embellished with mosques, hospitals, and schools; Marrákesh in particular was endowed with a special hospital, richly furnished, with abundance of water and trees, to which the ameer himself paid a visit each
1189. Friday after noon prayers.*[4] The same city owes to him the development of its underground water supply.[5]

When he "received the visit of death" at Salli, and was buried with his father and his grandfather at Tînmálalt, his subjects were so loth to believe it, that he
Fate of El Manṣûr. 1199. was declared to have departed on a pilgrimage to Mekka from which he never returned. A century later a tomb was shown with pride near the village of Mijdál in Coelo-Syria as that of "Ameer Yâḳûb of the Maghrib,"[6] but "this," remarks El Makkári, on the

* One is reminded of the Arab proverb, "No palm-grove flourishes which does not daily hear the voice of its owner."

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás. 2 *Ibid.*
3 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 341; 'Abd el Wáḥḥíd, p. 195 (1893, p. 28).
4 'Abd el Wáḥḥíd, p. 209.
5 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás. See *The Land of the Moors*, chap. xvi.
6 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 341.

authority of an earlier writer,[1] "is one of the tales of the vulgar, who were in love with their king." A higher testimony could not be desired, but equally touching was his last expressed wish, that he might be buried beside a highway, that the passing travellers might pray for him.[2] Alas for human wishes! Yâḳûb's body, together with those of his predecessors, was exhumed and dishonoured[3]

1195. by the dynasty which 'Abd el Ḥaḳḳ el Marînî was even now establishing.

The first shock of reverses in Spain was received by El Manṣûr's successor, his son by a Christian slave,[4]

1199. Mohammed III., surnamed En-Náṣir li Dîn Allah —"the Victor in the Religion of God." In Tunisia he had been victorious over the Murábṭi remnant, but he lacked his father's talents, and failed to win the love of his troops.* Therefore, when near Puerto Real,† or, as the Arabs call it, El 'Oḳáb, they found themselves confronted with a formidable Spanish army, the Moorish troops deserted on account of arrears of pay. The Franks were thus enabled to win the overwhelming victory which they know as "Las Navas de Tolosa."‡[5]

Defeat of "Las Navas de Tolosa." 1212.

The one other notable fact of En Náṣir's reign is the petition for help which reached him from the hard-pressed John of England, who is alleged to have offered to accept

* The Black Guards were already in existence at this time.[6]

† Whence centuries later the great Armada was to set out for England.

‡ Of six hundred thousand Moors, it is said that only one thousand escaped, Morocco being left almost depopulated. "This defeat may be regarded as the real cause of the subsequent decline of the Maghrib and Andalûs. . . . In the consequent decline of their Empire the Moorish princes came at length not only to hire the enemy's troops, but to surrender to the Christian kings the fortresses of the Muslims, that they might secure their aid against each other. At last the Andalusian chieftains and the descendants of the line of the Beni Ummeyyà united together and expelled them from the country."[7]

1 Abu Shareef el Gharnáṭi. 2 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 342.
3 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 83; En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 21.
4 'Abd el Wáḥḥid, p. 225. 5 El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. iii.
6 El Makkári, p. 225. 7 *Ibid.*, l.c.

Ramon Almela, Photo., Seville

THE GIRALDA TOWER AT SEVILLE
(*Cir.* 1184 A.C.)

Appeal from England.

1209.

Mohammed, and to hold his kingdom in fief from the Moors, if by their aid successful against his barons. It seems that, having been excommunicated by Innocent III., he had to look outside the pale of Christendom for help, and despatched to Morocco Thomas Hardington, Ralph Fitznicholas, and "Robert of London," a priest. They were received after passing through a suite of apartments and hedges of guards. They found the ameer reading, and on the presentation of John's letter he inquired as to the population and strength of his kingdom and as to his personal physique and character. Then he had a private talk with Robert, the bearer of this remarkable offer, who on his return was made abbot of St. Albans.[1] How far John seriously thought of going, or how far the priestly envoy was authorised, it is impossible now to decide; but it appears, from "Matthew of Paris,"[2] who alone records the event, that the proposal that John should change his creed was scouted with disdain, though this is hardly the manner in which a Muslim potentate might be expected to take so momentous an offer. The Pope, who understood that a "king of Salli" was willing to acknowledge the claims of Christ and himself, acted very differently.*

A Divided Empire.

1213.

In the year which followed his defeat at El 'Okáb, En-Náṣir was slain by his own guards, while roaming in disguise in his park at Marrákesh. His death was a signal for the breaking up of the Empire. Spain had already all but slipped from him, and in Fez, as soon as he was gone, 'Abd El Ḥaḳḳ was enthroned, and the reign of the Beni Marîn had begun.

* See chapter xv.

1 Matthew of Paris, *Hist.*, pp. 205, 206; *Ann. Waverl.*, p. 176; *Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans*, p. 1044.

2 Rohrbacher, vol. xvii., p. 333. See also Lingard, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1834, vol. iii., p. 37; and Godard, p. 338.

In Marrákesh he was succeeded by Yûsef III., his son,* misnamed El Mustanṣir b'Illah†—"About-to-conquer-in God"—for though a handsome and eloquent man, he was without energy, and never stirred from the metropolis.

Christian Missions. It was in this reign that Francis of Assisi first
1214. sent Christian missionaries to Morocco, that the
1220. first were martyred, and that a bishopric was
1223. established at Marrákesh.‡ While Yûsef III. indulged himself the shadow of empire diminished.

On his death a son of Yûsef II., 'Abd el Wáḥad I., was selected to inherit the throne, as being advanced in years
1223. and wisdom, but was found disappointing, so after nine months he was put to death by strangulation.§[1] He is known as El Makhloowi—"the Un-nerved," or "Deserted." Meanwhile 'Abd Allah II. (El 'Aádil—"the Just"), a son of Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, had raised a rival standard in Murcia, where he was soon overcome by the
1224. Spaniards. When crossing to Morocco to enforce his claim there, he left his brother Idrees as lieutenant in Seville. But here he met with poor welcome,
1226. although Yáḥyà V., a son of En-Náṣir, who was proclaimed, proved "a youth without experience, and totally incapable of conducting affairs."[2]

So Idrees III. was able to secure the throne,—which he
1227. ascended under the name of El Mámûn—"the Trustworthy,"—but only to see his Spanish dominions slip from his grasp. With the help of European mercenaries whom he had introduced, his Chris-
European Mercenaries.
1232. tian wife was able, on his death, to proclaim

* 'Abd el Wáḥîd[3] and Ibn Khaldûn[4] say that he too was the son of a Christian, but from this the Ḳarṭás differs.

† Given in Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás as El Muntaṣir, "The Conqueror."

‡ See chapter xv.

§ His head was held under water in the palace by the rebels, after which he was strangled with a turban.

1 Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 346. 2 El Makkári.
3 p. 237. 4 vol. ii., p. 227.

her son, 'Abd el Wáḥad II. (Er-Rasheed I.), at Ceuta,* which the Genoese were about to attack. There Rasheed unsuccessfully besieged for three months a rival brother who was assisted by Ibn Ḥûd, the ameer of Saragossa.

1242. For a moment he revived the fallen hopes of his house by restoring the Mahdi's name to the proclamation at Friday prayers,†[1] but he was drowned in a tank in his park at Marrákesh before he had time to accomplish much. His brother, 'Ali IV., es-Sâïd (El Moâtadîd —"the Sustained"), who followed, had had to suffer the

1245. loss of Mequinez, and was killed on his way to besiege Tlemçen.

A grandson of Yûsef II., who succeeded, 'Omar I.

1248. (El Mortaḍà—"the Acceptable"), saw Fez lost. The Beni Marîn were by this time fairly established, and the last Muwáḥḥadi ameer, Idrees IV. (El Wáthik—"the Confident," or Abu Dabbûs —"He of the Club")—descended from 'Abd el Mû'min by a different line—who with their assistance drove his predecessor out of Marrákesh, was himself

The Last of the Muwáḥḥadis.

1266.

1269. slain when that city was taken by Yâḳûb II., the fifth of the Beni Marîn ameers. This fate was incurred because Abu Dabbûs refused to share his

* By a tax levied in Marrákesh she raised five hundred thousand dînárs of gold for their pay. They were afterwards cut to pieces by Yáḥyà's army.

† That Ibn Khaldûn is mistaken in supposing that El Mámûn had repudiated the Mahdi in favour of the Baghdád khalîfas is shown by the Mahdi's name appearing on his coins. (See Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins, S. LANE POOLE.) It was only in 1229, according to El Makkári, that the Mahdi's name was omitted from the Friday prayers and the coins. In the mosque El Mámûn himself preached "Call not Ibn Tûmart the innocent imám (maṣûm), but rather say that he is blood-stained (madmûm): there is no other Mahdi than Jesus." The Berber reference to the Mahdi in the call to prayer was omitted at the same time, as also the "Rise and Praise God."[3]

[1] IBN KHALLIKÁN, vol. ii., p. 348. [2] EL MAKKÁRI, l.c.

dominions with Yâḳûb according to treaty.[1] So came to an end Morocco's greatest dynasty, after a space of one hundred and fifteen years.*

SOME MOORISH MAHDIS

Morocco, in common with most Mohammedan lands, has had its share of *soi-disant* Mahdis. Among these may be mentioned a Mûḥḥdhen of Tlemçen who, in the year 851, took upon himself to propagate numerous innovations in Mohammedan practice, such as forbidding to cut the hair or nails, or to wear ornaments, acts which he regarded as either detracting from, or adding to, the work of the Almighty. Many proselytes in Africa and Spain adopted his teaching, but he was eventually crucified by the ameer of Andalucia, exclaiming, "Will you kill a man because he says, 'GOD is my Lord'?" Half a century later Ifrikîya was subjugated by a more successful Mahdi—'Obeid Allah, founder of the Fâṭimi Dynasty—who took Fez by assault, and then Sajilmása, but as his steps were turned towards Egypt, of which he became master in 960, his history passed away from Morocco. Yet it is important to notice that he is erroneously credited with having been the first to coin money in this country.[2]

A Remarkable Reformer.

Another man—one Ḥameem—set up as a prophet in 936 in Ghomára, and obtained a goodly following. He appointed two hours of prayer only—sunrise and sunset—instead of the usual five, three prostrations to be made each time, weeping, with the hands between the head and the floor. At the commencement the worshipper exclaimed, "Deliver me from sin, O Thou who givest eyes to see the Universe. Deliver me from sin, O Thou who drewest Jonah from the stomach of the fish, and Moses from the flood."[3] To the ordinary confession was added, "And I believe in Ḥameem, and in his companion, Abu Ikhláf, and I believe in *Ṭabîa*, aunt of Ḥameem. Fasts were to be observed on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, during ten days of Ramaḍán, and ten of Shoowál. A fine of three bullocks was to be paid for eating on Thursday, and two for eating on Tuesday. Pilgrimage and certain purifications were abolished, and sows were permitted as food, but eggs, the heads of animals and other things, were prohibited. The fate of

Ḥameem El Mahdi.

* The gold coins of this dynasty are remarkable for their profusion of genealogical information, for their large area, though thin, and the invariable absence of dates. Most of the successors of Abd el Mû'min stated on their coins "El Mahdi Imám el Ammah—The Mahdi is the Imám of the People," as well as the special motto of their sect, "El Ḥamdu l'Illah Waḥadahu—Praise be to the Only God," which has obtained so firm a hold in Morocco.

[1] EL MAKKÁRI. [2] RAÔḌ EL ḴARṬÁS. [3] Ḳor'án, s. xl., v. 29.

this Mahdi was crucifixion at El Ḳaṣar Maṣmûda, and his head was sent to Córdova.[1]

During the Muwáḥḥadi Period, as if to distinguish himself from Ibn Tûmárt one Mohammed ibn Hûd assumed the kindred title of El Hádi, "the Director."

Rivals of 'Abd el Mû'min.

He was successful in inducing the people of Salli to support his claims—for which they suffered the loss of their walls at the hands of 'Abd el Mû'min—and although he obtained a large following in Sûs and Central Morocco, he was overthrown by the Muwáḥḥadîs. Under 'Abd el Mû'min also there arose an unsuccessful Mahdi in western Spain, who was betrayed in his castle of Mertola and brought over to Morocco to the ameer, who asked what he meant by setting up as the Mahdi. "Are there not two dawns, sire?" he replied—"the false and the true? I was the false"—an answer which procured his pardon.[2]

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás. [2] 'Abd el Wáḥḥîd, p. 150 (1892, p. 286).

CHAPTER THE SIXTH

THE CONTRACTION OF EMPIRE

(BENI MARÎN PERIOD)

1213–1524

The Beni Marîn Invasion.

A GRAPHIC account of the origin and incoming of the new masters of Morocco is to be found in the "Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás," compiled about the middle of their period. Once again, as in the days of the Lamtûnà, a Berber horde poured over the Atlas, "like the rain, or the stars, or the locusts, for number." This time they belonged to the great rival clan of Zanáta, yet nevertheless claimed descent from the Arabs by way of Goliath![1]* Every year, to seek the pasture of the North, they came from their desert home between Tafilált and Záb in southern Algeria, where they acknowledged no ameer, and knew no coinage or taxes, their property consisting only of horses, camels, and slaves.[2] In the time of Yâḳûb el Manṣûr they had

* Among the quaint conceits which have been grafted on to Moorish history was the suggestion that "los reyes Beni Merines, Seigneurs d'Afrique," were descended from the Genoese family of Marini, which formed the theme of a publication at Naples in 1626, *Origen y descendencia de los rryes Beni Merines.*" Federico de Federici, author of *Famiglie che sono state en Genova prima dell'anno*, 1525,[3] says: "Giacomo de Marini went to Ceuta in 1233 as ambassador, and remained there, leaving descendants." These were spoken of by Leo Africanus as residing at Salli in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Gråberg says that Moorish traditions connect these with the Beni Marîn![4]

[1] RAÔḌ EL ḲARṬÁS, p. 397. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 400. [3] vol. ii., p. 154. [4] p. 324.

1195. furnished a contingent at the battle of El Arcos.
1212. But when, after the battle of "Las Navas" they found the most fertile plains deserted, the Muwáḥḥadi kings given over to wine, to luxury and to effeminacy,[1] a weakling at the helm, and the Empire in a state of chaos, they took counsel among themselves, and invaded Morocco.

The Invading Leader.

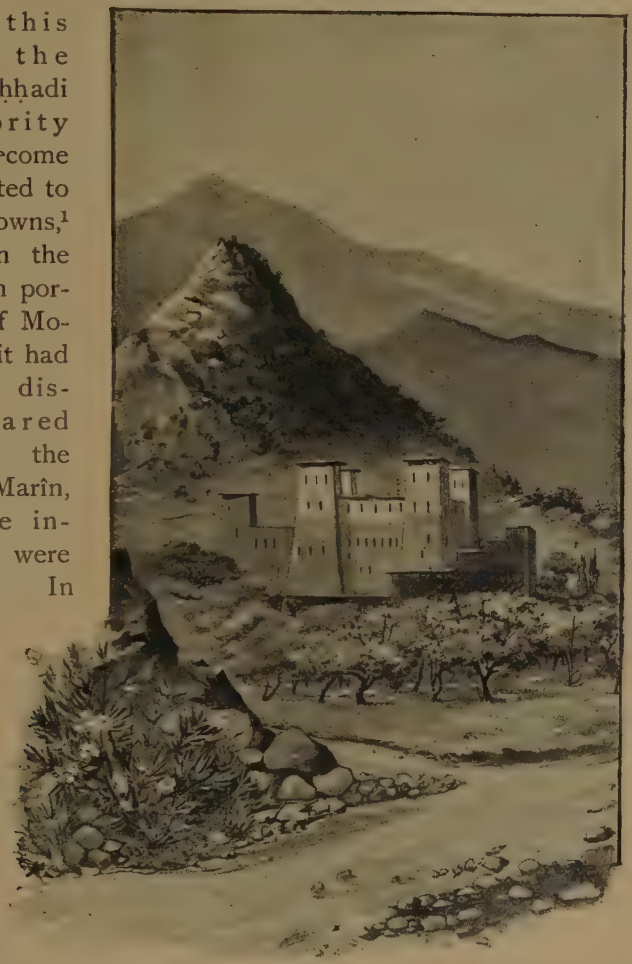
Their leader was a trusted chief, the son of their general at El Arcos, 'Abd el Ḥaḳḳ, who had already gained a reputation for his virtuous piety, his generosity, and his sanctity—his cap, his slippers, and the water wherein he had washed being credited with miraculous powers.[2] After some preparation they entered Morocco by the Wád Talágh route, and near Wád
1216. N'kôr in the Rîf routed the Muwáḥḥadi army
1217. which had been sent against them. Next year 'Abd el Ḥaḳḳ was slain beside the Sebû, while fighting a host of Muwáḥḥadi Arabs, whom his followers swore they would vanquish ere they buried their chief; they kept their vow.[3]

Although their leaders had, as usual, to assume a pious attitude, this was no religious movement, but a typical invasion of nomads. It took place simultaneously
1216. with the accession of our Henry III., while in India the foundations of the Afghan Empire were being laid, and in Tartary Jenghis Khán was setting out on his victorious career.

'Othmán I., surnamed Abu Sâïd I., the son of 'Abd el
1217. Ḥaḳḳ, succeeded his father, and carried on the contest for twenty-three years, until he was stabbed by
1240. a renegade in his service.[4] His brother Mohammed IV. (Abu Mârraf) followed, but he was killed
1244. in a great battle near Fez[5] by a European officer in the Muwáḥḥadi army.

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 402. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 406. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 408; En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 4. [4] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 411; En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 5. [5] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás.

By this time the Muwáḥḥadi authority had become restricted to the towns,[1] and in the eastern portion of Morocco it had quite disappeared before the Beni Marîn, as the invaders were called. In



From Harris' "Tafilet"

SHEIKH'S HOUSE AT ZARKTAN
(North End of the Gláwi Pass in the Atlas)

Tunis the Ḥafṣi khalîfas, an offshoot of the Muwáḥḥadîs,
1230. had thrown off the Moorish yoke, and to them

1 RAÔḌ EL ḲARṬÁS, p. 411.

at the outset the Beni Marîn paid allegiance.[1] At one time it was even probable that Morocco would henceforth be ruled from Tunis Not only was Tlemçen seized by the
1242. Ḥafṣi ameer, but Seville, and later Valencia and Murcia, acknowledged his supremacy. Tangier, Ceuta, El Ḳaṣar, Mequinez, and Tafilált also proclaimed the khalîfa
1244. of Tunis, although, led by an unsuccessful rebel, Ibn el Ameer,[2] Tangier soon after declared for the Abbási
1248. khalîfa of the eastern or "Saracen" Empire.

Tlemçen Dynasty Established.

In Tlemçen a Zanáta Berber, Yaghmorasan,* as the first of the Beni Zeeyán or Abd el Wáḥadi
1235. dynasty, was establishing an independent State. But so successfully did the Beni Marîn maintain their footing against Tlemçen on the one side, and Marrákesh on the other, that they were enabled to refuse to recognise the Ḥafṣi suzerainty.

Under the third son of Abd el Ḥaḳḳ, Abu Bakr—famous for his power of hurling a lance with each hand
1245. at once[3]—first Mequinez, and then the northern

The Northern Kingdom Secured.

metropolis of Fez, fell into their hands. Mequinez
1248. temporarily reverted to the Muwáḥḥadîs,[4] and Ali IV. (es-Sâïd, surnamed El Moâtadîd, "The Sustained"), who ruled at Marrákesh, offered to make peace with the Beni Marîn on condition that they would furnish five hundred horsemen wherewith to fight Yaghmorasan
1248. and retake Tlemçen. The offer was accepted, but on the death of Es-Sâïd Abu Bakr again seized Mequinez
1249. and retook Fez, which had been restored to its former owner by Shadîd, the officer in command of the foreign mercenaries.[5] Securing Táza on his way, Abu

* Sometimes written "Ghamarasan." For the history of this dynasty see the work of Et-Tenesi, translated by the Abbé Bargès.

1 Ibn Khaldûn.
2 El Makkári, p. 346.
3 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás.
4 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv.
5 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 420.

First Battle of Isly.

1250. Bakr marched against Tlemçen, and defeated Yaghmorasan by the river of Isly, near the spot where six centuries later the Moors were
1844. beaten by the French. Secure in the northern
1251. kingdom, the Beni Marîn took Rabat and Salli,
1255. conquered Tafîlált, whence they drove Yagh-
1257. morasan, pushing onward to subdue the Drâa. For a time the constant plotting of the Tunisian Ḥafṣîs to obtain control[1] was a hindrance, but their efforts met with no lasting success, and at length the Beni Marîn reigned supreme. Abu Bakr's eventful rule of fourteen years was
1258. closed by his death at Fez, and Yâḳûb II., his brother, fourth son of 'Abd el Ḥaḳḳ, was proclaimed in the same year in which the Tartars conquered Baghdád and overthrew the 'Abbási khalîfas.

From Sûs to Oojda, near the Algerian frontier, the new monarch held undisputed sway. In Marrákesh there
1248. still reigned a Muwáḥḥadi prince, 'Omar I. (el Mortaḍà), who paid him tribute, but his successor,
1266. Idrees IV. (el Wáthiḳ), was the last Muwáḥḥadi rival of the Beni Marîn.

Reign of **Yâḳûb II., bin 'Abd el Ḥakk.**

Yâḳûb II. (bin 'Abd el Ḥaḳḳ)* is one of the few ameers of Morocco who have left a name for a just administration, and for philanthropic undertakings, such as the establishment of retreats for the sick, the blind,
1258–1286. the insane and the leprous.[2] He spent a third of the night in the study of the Ḳor'án, followed by prayers until daybreak. Philosophy and morals were studied until ten, when, after further prayers, official correspondence and audiences took their turn. Although an absolute ruler, independent even of his ministers, he was considerate

* As this ameer—or, as En-Náṣiri styles him, this sultan[3]—was surnamed El Manṣûr, care must be taken not to confound him with his greater predecessor of that name, in emulation of whom the surname was doubtless adopted.

[1] En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., pp. 6–10. [2] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, pp. 426, 428.
[3] vol. ii., p. 10.

of all, and always opened the conversation to encourage those who came to him.[1] He had moreover much friendly intercourse with Europe.

On one occasion the river at Salli was so full of foreign ships that there were said to be more strange sailors* there than resident natives, so during Ramaḍán the foreigners seized the town, entering by a breach in the wall, though after fourteen days the Moors retook it.†[2] Perhaps this was the prime cause of an invasion of Spain in the following year, when Malaga and the district between it and Algeciras were subdued. But Morocco was still restless, and an attempt upon Marrákesh was frustrated by a rear attack on the part of Yaghmorasan. Having obtained help from Yaḥyà ábu Zaḳarîa, the Ḥafṣi ameer of Tunis—who himself had designs on Morocco,[3] and was willing to make use of the Beni Marîn—Yâḳûb marched against Yaghmorasan with success, and then returned to the siege of Marrákesh. This time he achieved his end, and crushed the Muwáḥḥadi power[4] for ever. The Rîf, however, was not yet at peace, and nomad Arabs drawn thence supported by the Shâbánat tribe,‡ raised a revolt in Sûs, which was quelled the following year. Ceuta, the Rîfian capital, with its arsenal and dockyard built by Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, was governed by the faḳîh Ibn el Azfi,[5] who, though he had been appointed by 'Omar el Mortaḍà, agreed to pay tribute to the Beni Marîn. Tangier, which had formerly been subject to Ceuta, and was at this time independent, was surprised and captured by the

Foreign Relations.

1260.

1261.

1267.

1268.

Extinction of the Muwáḥḥadi.

1269.

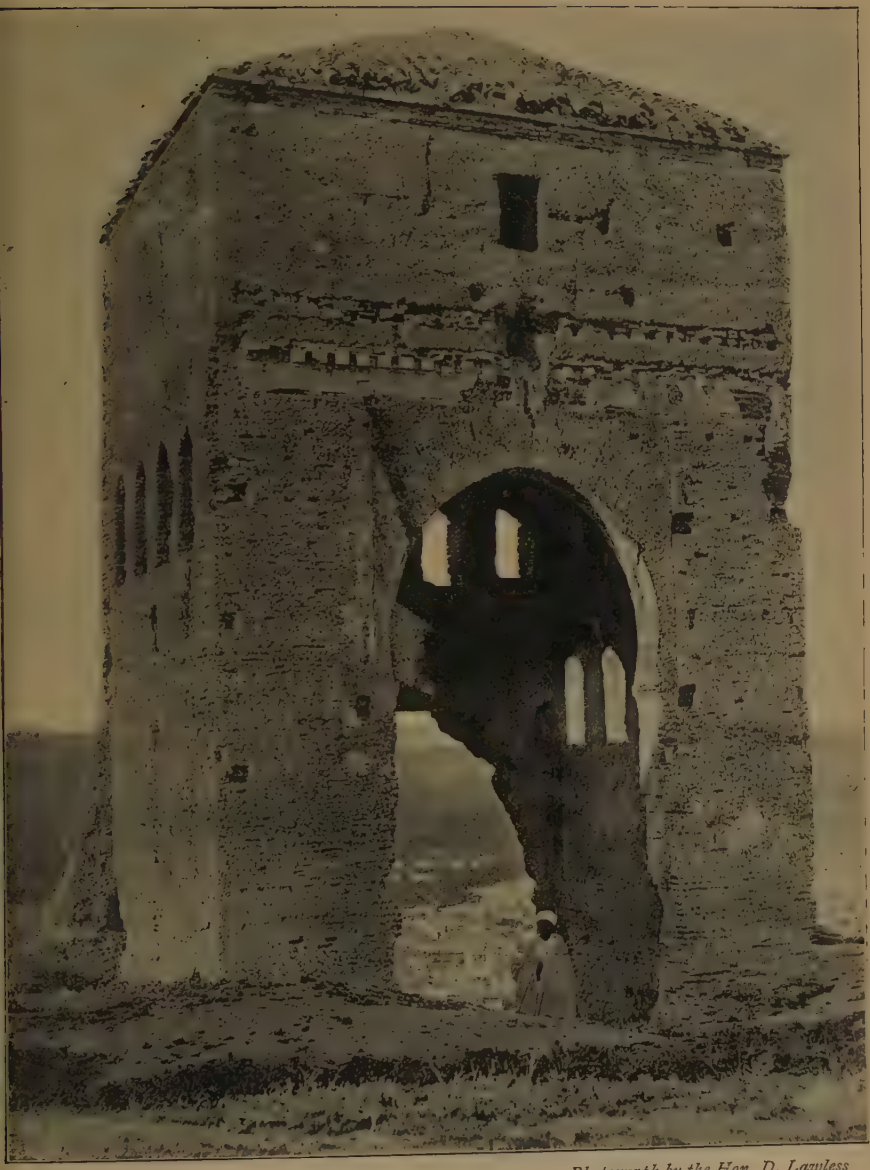
1270.

1266.

* En-Náṣiri attributes this brief success to Spaniards, vol. ii., p. 10.

† A decade later (1270) a descent was made by the foreigners on Laraiche, which was all but destroyed, and its inhabitants massacred. ‡ See p. 80.

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 530.
[2] Ibn Ḵhaldûn, vol. iv., p. 47.
[3] *Ibid.*, l.c.
[4] En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 13.
[5] Ibn Ḵhaldûn, vol. iv., p. 65; Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 446; En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 17.



Photograph by the Hon. D. Lawless

TOMB OF BENI MARIN AMEER, AT FEZ

new rulers, but though it was unsuccessfully besieged by
1267. Abu Málek, it capitulated four years later to
1271. El Azfi, who was only able to hold it two years.
1273. Then Yâḳûb was successful in besieging it, as he was also against Ceuta, and Ibn el Azfi was made tributary. Yaghmorasan had already been overcome in a second
1271. battle of Isly, and Oojda had been entirely
1274. destroyed; when, therefore, Tafîlált was finally subjugated, the triumph of the Beni Marîn was complete.

It was but natural that, under these circumstances, the ameer should turn his attention to Spain. In twenty ships provided by Ibn el Azfi he embarked next year with five thousand men[1] to invade that country, and made up a camp which stretched "from Tarifa to Algeciras,"[2] Tarifa and Ronda having been entrusted to him already as centres of operation. Ceuta, on the other hand, had fallen to the lot of the king of Granáda, and in November of the previous year
1274. Yâḳûb had gone in person to Barcelona, where he made a treaty with Iago I. of Aragon,[3] who undertook to lend him ten ships and five hundred men for its recovery.*

Marîni Invasion of Spain.
1275.

On his return to Morocco Yâḳûb raised the most durable monument of the Marîn dynasty, the city of New Fez, or, as it was then known, "The White Town,' founded on the most propitious date that could be selected by the astrologers, and planned by the ameer himself.[4] In Mequinez, at the same time, a citadel and mosque were built. But the tribes were weary of fighting, and would not listen to the summons to another jehád or religious war. It was
1277. not until Yâḳûb had again crossed the Straits

Building of New Fez.
1276.

* See chapter xii., p. 241.

[1] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 76. [2] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 450.
[3] Mas Latrie's Collection, pt. ii., p. 285.
[4] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 460; Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 84.

with his army that the voluntary levies began to assemble. When all were ready a campaign was opened against Córdova, and the country was raided up to the walls of Seville. There a battle was won by the Wád el Kabîr (Guad-al-quivir*), or Great River, and "behind their ramparts the Nazarenes struck their heads in despair,"[1] glad to make peace through the medium of an embassy of priests. After a single victory we are told that eighteen thousand Christian heads were piled into a pyramid, from which was uttered the summons to prayer.[2] Next year the governor of Malaga, a rival of Ibn el Aḥmar, ameer of Granáda,†, made over his town to Yâḳûb,[3] but by the formation of a coalition between Ibn el Aḥmar, Yaghmorasan, and Alfonso X. of Léon and Castille,‡ that port was repurchased from the governor at the price of fifty thousand dînárs, and the Beni Marîn were prevented from taking possession.[4] Alfonso then proceeded to besiege Algeciras, but communication with Gibraltar was maintained by pigeon post[5] until, by a united effort of the neighbouring Moorish ports, it was relieved. The faḳîh El Azfi, of Ceuta, sent forty-five vessels, and so many of his people volunteered, that of the males only children, the old, and the sick, were left in the town. Twelve more vessels were supplied by Almuñeca in Spain, and fifteen by Moorish ports. For four nights the people of Tangier, El Ḳaṣar eṣ-Ṣaghîr and Ceuta "prayed on their ramparts with eyes and doors open,"[6] and, though the Spanish vessels were crowded with men, "like crows

Raiding of Andalucia.

1278.

1279.

Relief of Algeciras.

* Pronounced by the Spaniards "Wád al Kibîr."

† In a measure tributary to Castille, for which he was obliged to furnish troops.

‡ He under whom the Alphonsine astronomical tables had been drawn up.

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 464. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 456. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 470.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 472. 5 *Ibid.*, p. 474. 6 *Ibid.*, p. 476.

on a hill-top," they were defeated, and the town was fortified afresh.

After a vain attempt on Yâḳûb's part to come to terms with Yaghmorasan, the latter was routed. Then, by a strange combination of circumstances, the way for the Beni Marîn into Spain was re-opened. The Infante Sancho—who afterwards bore the title of Sancho IV., "the Great and Brave"—conspired against his father Alfonso, who was driven to seek help from his old foe, the Moorish ameer.[1] This, as Yâḳûb wrote to Philip III. of France, he was pleased to grant, "quite disinterestedly."[2] His method of showing his disinterestedness was by invading Andalucia as might a pestilence, everywhere burning the harvests, cutting down the fig and olive trees, devastating the gardens, destroying the dwellings, carrying off every portable object of value, and massacring all the prisoners except the women and children.[3] To Alfonso, however, he advanced one hundred thousand pieces of gold on the security of his crown, which a century later was still retained in the halls of the Beni Marîn.[4] Then the Muslims marched all night, without ceasing to chant the praises of God and Mohammed,[5] "until the earth itself trembled." The rebel Sancho was surprised and overcome at Córdova.

1282.

Strange Coalitions.

1284.

Toledo and Madrid being likewise attacked, Malaga was next besieged, but Ibn Aḥmar, who had been in league with Sancho, now sought an alliance with the Moors, and together they raided the country to Xeres. Sancho, utterly ruined, was fain to submit, and was even induced to sue for pardon in person, accepting what terms the ameer liked to impose. These were that, as king of Léon and Castille—his father

1283.

A Change of Partners.

[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 485.

[2] Ibn Khaldûn, vol iv., p. 106. See De Lacy, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres*, vol ix.

[3] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 501.

[4] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 107.

[5] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 507.

1284. had died in the interim—he should accept the suzerainty of Morocco, and that he should guarantee perfect liberty on land and sea for all Mohammedans, Moorish subjects or not, without their becoming liable to tax or impost.[1] The ameer prepared to receive him in state, and "the ground was covered with the whiteness of the Muslimeen, while Sancho advanced with all his infidels in black."[2] An additional demand was made upon the Spaniard, namely, the collection of all Arabic manuscripts in his dominions. Of these thirteen loads, chiefly works on theology, jurisprudence and literature, were delivered and sent to the college which Yâḳûb had built in Fez.[3] To counterbalance this the ameer agreed to pay Sancho two million maravedis or derhams.[4] Yâḳûb never saw

Native Literature.

1286. Morocco again, for on his way back he expired at Algeciras, after an eventful reign of twenty-nine years.

His son and successor, Yûsef IV., reaped the benefit of all

1290. his wars. After an attempt to besiege Tlemçen with catapults and other machines,[5] the alliance with Sancho was broken in favour of one with 'Abd Allah ibn Aḥmar, the new ameer of Granáda.

Morocco Honoured.

1292. Yûsef then invaded Spain, and captured Tarîfa with the help of his new ally, who had expected to become its master, and who crossed to Tangier to visit his suzerain, bringing with him the cherished Ḳor'án of the Beni Ummeyyà, said to have been copied by the hand of 'Oṯhmán, third khalîfa of Islám.*[6] Envoys were

* Of this Ḳor'án Et-Tenesi, in his History of the Beni Zeeyán of Tlemçen,[7] tells another story. According to him, it was taken from the mosque of Córdova to Marrákesh by 'Abd el Mû'min, and there rebound in gold and

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 517. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 526. 3 *Ibid.*
4 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 118; En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 32.
5 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 537. 6 *Ibid.* and Ibn Khaldûn; En-Náṣiri, vol ii., p. 36.
7 *Trans.* Bargès, pp. 18–21.

sent from the rulers of Bayonne and Portugal,[1] while the Ḥafṣi ameers of Tunis lent assistance with their fleet. From the Turkish Khadîwi of Egypt came elephants, giraffes, and other valuable presents, and from Mekka a
1300. deputation of the shareefs, or nobles. As a result of the latter courtesy the annual pilgrimage, which had been suspended during the civil wars, was renewed
1303. by the despatch of an enormous caravan, escorted by five hundred horse-soldiers. A greater host made the journey the next year, but on its return Yûsef's envoys were pillaged by the Arabs of Tlemçen.[2]

The closing century left Yûsef IV. engaged in a siege of
1299. Tlemçen, which lasted a hundred months, and
1307. ended only when he was stabbed by a eunuch and buried at Shella. He had previously taken O'ran,
1300. Algiers and Bougie, but the strongest evidence of his power was the new town of Tlemçen (Manṣûra). It was a camp built up as Santa Fé was two centuries later—when the "Catholic Princes" besieged Granáda,—but was of a more lasting nature. One half of the mosque tower still stands.

Great Siege of Tlemçen.

1307. On the death of Yûsef, which was followed within a few days by the murder of his son and brother,[3]

precious stones. It was carried as an ensign at the head of the army in battle, mounted on a dromedary, and followed by a load of commentaries. Yaghmorasan's soldiers having captured it at the battle of Isly, it was despoiled of its riches, and sold in the market for seventeen dirhams, but was recognised and preserved. In vain the subsequent kings of Morocco, Tunis and Spain, entreated for it: "All left this life with the regret of inability to realise their wish. . . . It is because our sovereigns belong to the holy family which received the Ḳor'án from on high that they have had the honour to transmit from father to son this precious heritage," which, however, was later lost sight of. The same author gives a genealogy of Yaghmorasan, tracing it to the Idreesi family, but then such trees have ever been made to order. Others say that 'Othmán's Ḳor'án was recovered by Áli V. of Morocco when he captured Tlemçen in 1335.

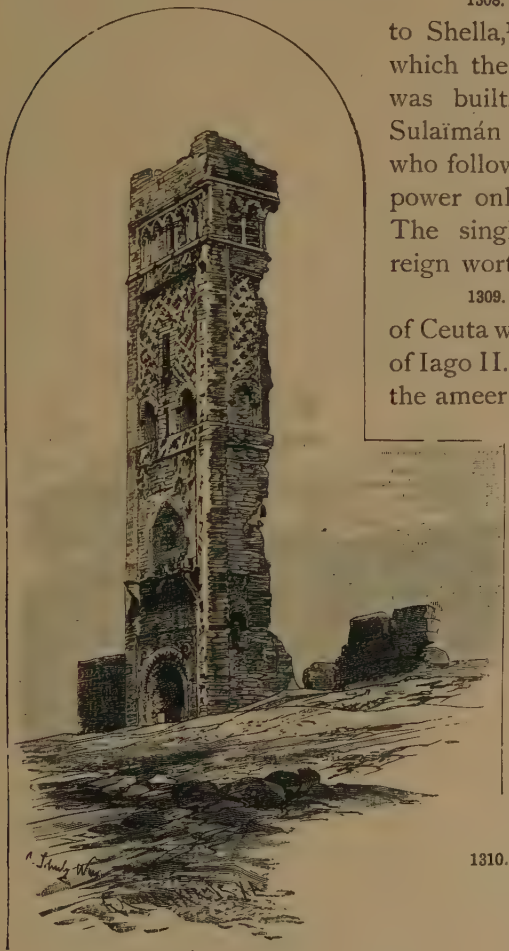
[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 541. [2] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 155.
[3] Et-Tijáni, *J. Asiatique*, 5 Sér., vol. i., p. 116.

his grandson, 'Amr—surnamed Abu Thábit—was proclaimed at Manṣûra, to rule for one year only, and to die in the Ḳaṣbah of Tangier, whence he was transported for interment to Shella,[1] in the year in which the modern Tetuan was built.[2] His brother Sulaïmán I. (Abu Rabîâ), who followed him, enjoyed power only twice as long. The single event of his reign worth recording was the re-capture of Ceuta with the assistance of Iago II. of Aragon,[3] from the ameer of Granáda, who had taken it four years earlier, but Gibraltar was captured and Tarîfa besieged by Fernando IV. of Castille. Sulaïmán's successor was a son of Yâḳûb II., named 'Othmán II. (Abu Sâïd II.), of whom a contemporary poet wrote what

1308.

1309.

1310.



BENI MARÎN TOWER AT TLEMÇEN

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 553; Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 179.
2 En-Náṣiri, p. 46. 3 See his letters in Mas Latrie's Collection, pt. ii., p. 297.

The Khalîfate.

may be quoted as an average sample of that class of literature in those days: "The khalîfate has come to him through a direct line of kings; the khalîfate could not but belong to him; and he could belong to nothing but the khalîfate; if any other had seized upon it, the whole earth would have been upset."[1] Yet in his reign there is little else to chronicle than that in the year of his succession Gibraltar was recovered, and the Christian fleet destroyed. Two years
1312. later Algeciras was returned to the ameer of Granáda, but when the ameer sought help from Morocco
1319. against the Castillians,[2] this was not given.
1320. About that time Abu Sâïd was hard pressed by the action of one of his sons, 'Omar, who set himself up as the independent ruler of Tafîlált. This province he
1331. retained until his father's death, when another son, 'Ali V.—surnamed Abu'l Ḥasan—better known as "Es-Sultán el Aṣwád," "the Black Sultan"—succeeded to the whole kingdom.

The great undertaking of the reign of 'Ali V. was the successful siege of Tlemçen.[3] On his way thither he
1335. destroyed once more the unlucky Oojda, and

Capture of Tlemçen.

then proceeded to attack Tlemçen, utilising the wall raised by Yûsef IV., and adding towers
1337. for his own defence. After two years' perseverance he obtained his end, but the Moors held the town
1342. for half a century only. 'Ali's invasion of Spain was bootless, for he was worsted by Alfonso XI. at Rio Salado, near Tarîfa. But, with a view of extending his influence eastward, he presented Ḳor'áns, written by his own hand, to Mekka, Madîna and Jerusalem, asking
1347. welcome for his pilgrims.[4] In the invasion of Tunisia,[5] which followed, he was defeated under the walls

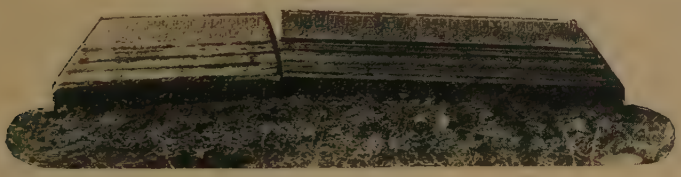
[1] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 560. [2] El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. iii.
[3] Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 219. En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., p. 50. [4] *Ibid.*, l.c.
[5] Ibn el Ḳanfûd (El Khaṭîb), tr. Cherbonneau, *J. Asiatique*, 4 Sér., vol. xxi., p. 225.

1348. of Ḳaïrwán, and the rumour spread that he was dead.

Constantine* and Bougie at once asserted their independence, and 'Ali's son, Fáris I., generally known by his surname of Abu 'Aïnán ("the Two-eyed"), had himself proclaimed in Tetuan,[1] and captured New Fez by assault. His unfortunate father was fain to take refuge in Ceuta, whence he escaped to Tafîlált. Thither Abu 'Aïnán pursued him, but 'Ali had already regained Marrákesh, where the people

Reign of Abu 'Aïnán.

1350.



Molinari, Photo., Tangier

TOMB OF "THE BLACK SULTAN," 'ALI V., AT SHELLA

received him with joy.† A year later he was defeated in a pitched battle by the Um-er-Rabîâ, and therefore abdicated formally. His death followed directly upon his abdication, and was the result, it was said, of over-bleeding. Before its interment his body was brought into his son's camp and received with honour, Abu 'Aïnán kissing it with uncovered head, and every sign of grief, and loading his father's supporters with favours.[2]‡

1351.

* The father of Ibn Ḳanfûd, the historian of the Ḥafṣîs, was employed by the Ḥafṣi ameer to treat with Abu 'Aïnán at Constantine.

† Chenier says that in this contest Abu 'Aïnán received assistance from Pedro the Cruel of Spain.

‡ On the tomb-stone which still marks his resting-place at Shella may be read:—"This is the grave of our lord the sultan, ḳhalîfa, priest (imám), prince of the surrendered (ameer el muslimeen), and victor in religious warfare in the way of the Lord of the Worlds, Abu'l Ḥasan; son of our lord the sultan, ḳhalîfa, priest, prince of the surrendered, and victor in religious warfare in the

1 IBN ḲHALDÛN, vol. i., p. 550. 2 *Ibid.*, vol. iii.

Abu 'Aïnán's first step was to recover Tlemçen and
1352. Algeria, and an appeal from Tripoli for fifty
1354. thousand pieces of gold to ransom that town from the Genoese was answered by the ready despatch of this sum in five loads. In the same year he received an embassy from the Granádan monarch, Mohammed V.,* beseeching help against the Christians, but
1354. although "his desire to show friendship was so great that he accorded the ambassador's request before he had opened his mouth to speak," it does not seem to have been carried into effect. He had a strong aversion to Arabs, and was proportionately severe in his dealings with them. Accordingly, soon after his capture of Con-
1357. stantine and Tunis, he was recalled to Fez on account of the desertion of his officers. A year later he
1358. died at Fez, leaving his son Sâïd I., still a child, to succeed him, but only in name. His brother, Ibráhîm II.
1359. (Abu Sálem), with the aid of the Rîfîs, at once

Help sought from Spain.

way of the Lord of the Worlds, Abu Sâïd; son of our lord the sultan, khalîfa, priest, prince of the resigned, and victor in religious warfare in the way of the Lord of the Worlds, Abu Yûsef Yâḳûb, son of Abd el Ḥaḳḳ—may God sanctify his spirit and illuminate his resting-place; who died—may God accept and make him acceptable—in the mountain of Hantáta, on the night preceding Tuesday the twenty-seventh of the Blessed Rabîâ the First in the year two and fifty and seven hundred; and was buried in the direction (of prayer) in the shrine at Marrákesh of El Manṣûr—whose memory may God preserve—and was transferred to the blessed and holy burying-place of Shella. May God receive him into His favour, and instal him in Heaven! And the prayers of God be on our lord Mohammed, and upon his family be peace."

Hard by is a similar memorial of Abu 'Aïnán's mother[1], which bears the inscription:—"God be Praised! This is the grave of our lady, the noble, the pure, the devout, the holy mother of the sultan, khalîfa and priest—who

* Mohammed was dethroned by his brother Ismâïl a few years afterwards, and fled to Fez, where an asylum was afforded him for two or three years till he could return and recover his kingdom.

[1] The name of this lady is elsewhere given as Shems eṣ-Ṣ'báhi, or "Morning Sun," a name which indicates a Christian slave, but it has also been asserted that her name was Sháfia. (See the *History of the Muwáḥḥadi and Ḥafṣi Dynasties*, by Ez-Zarkáshi, Tunis, 1872, p. 76.)

seized on Ceuta and Tangier, and for a couple of years ruled the Maghrib.

An interesting episode of this time was the sending of an embassy to Melli in the negro country,[1] three months' journey from the frontier, the first of those expeditions which, in subsequent centuries, were to bring much profit and honour to the Empire. When the embassy returned, bringing a giraffe among the presents, the Moorish historian was greatly struck by the manner in which the envoy's attachés put dust on their heads, and twanged their bow-strings by way of assent when he spoke.[2]

Intercourse with the Sûdân.

1360.

For the next five years Morocco was partitioned between three claimants—Tashfîn II. (Abu 'Omar), 'Abd el Halîm, and Mohammed V.—and was rent by civil war. Then 'Abd el 'Azîz I.—another brother of Abu 'Aïnán—asserted his supremacy, and even entertained relations with Edward the Black Prince, who

1361-1366.

Break-up of Power.

is made great by her beautiful character and worthy deeds, distinguished by the modesty of her speech and the grace of her acts – our lord the prince of believers, the reliant on the Lord of the Worlds, Abu 'Aïnán, son of the prince of the resigned, Abu el Ḥasan, descendant of the great and mighty khalîfas, priests. May God instal her in the fulness of Heaven, and receive her with indulgence and pardon. Her death was on the night preceding Saturday the fourth of the only Rejeb, in the year fifty and seven hundred, and she was buried after the Friday prayer, on the twenty-fifth of that month, in the sanctuary of our lord the Khalîfa el Manṣûr. May He who fixed the hour of her summons to the grave, from the eyes of the sunrise and sunset,[3] may God the Exalted confirm his decrees, and perpetuate his good deeds and his possessions, may He be his friend and protector, and unite in him complete prosperity, temporal and everlasting."

The reading of these inscriptions—in a beautiful but involved cursive style, for over five centuries exposed to the air—is often difficult and doubtful, but Messrs. Tissot, Codera, and Saavedra have expended so much pains in deciphering them, that I have seldom felt justified in departing from their renderings.[4] A translation with trifling variations only is given in the *Life of Sir John Hay.*

1 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 242. 2 *Ibid.*, l.c., p. 344.

3 A play upon the name adopted by her son, "Abu 'Aïnán."

4 See the *Boletin de la Real Academia de Historia*, of Madrid, vol. xii.

1368. then ruled at Bordeaux. The Granadines re-
covered Algeciras, which was utterly destroyed a decade
later, that it might no longer tempt the Spaniards.[1]
1372. Mohammed VI. (es-Sâïd), the son of 'Abd el
1374. 'Azîz, was his successor, but within a couple of
years the kingdom was once more divided. For ten years
Ahmad II. (Abu el 'Abbás, El Mustanṣir, or "The About-
to-Conquer"), hitherto a prisoner in Tangier, possessed the

I. II.

GOLD COIN OF AHMAD II.
(*British Museum*)

Area I.—"In the Name of God, the Pitying the Pitiful. The worship of God be on Mohammed, and Praise be to the Only God. There is no god but God: Mohammed is the messenger of God."

Margin I.—"'He is the First and the Last, and the Manifest and the Hidden, and He is over everything.'"[3]

Area II.—"Struck at Marrákesh, by the order of the slave of God, El Mustanṣir b'Illah, Ahmad Ameer el Muslimîn, son of the Orthodox Khalîfas."

Margin II.—"'And judgment is from the Only God: there is no god but He, the Pitying the Pitiful.'"

north, while 'Abd er-Raḥmán I. held the south—Azammûr,
the frontier town, belonging to Fez—but throughout this
period Fez and Marrákesh were alternately besieged, and
the country laid waste. After a brief triumph, during which
1374. he retook and burned Bougie and Tunis, and
1382. later Tlemçen,[2] Abu el 'Abbás was deposed and
1384. exiled to Granáda by a relative, Mûsà II., who

[1] En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 131. [2] *Ibid.*, l.c. [3] Ḳor'án, s. lvii., v. 3.

shared the kingdom with Ahmad III.—or Mohammed—(El Muntaṣir, "the Conqueror"). Nor were they the only rulers, for the wazeer, Ibn Másái,[1] was more powerful still, and induced the king of Granáda to send as pretender the most tractable of the

Importing Pretenders.

1386.

Cavilla, Photo., Tangier

GATE OF THE NAZARENES, SHELLA

Beni Marîn at his court, Mohammed VII. (el Wáthiḳ).[2] His success was short-lived, for the Moors appealed to the Spaniards, who harboured at Seville the king of Granáda's rival relatives.[3] Ceuta, which had been the price of

1 En-Náṣiri, vol. iii., p. 137. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 138. 3 Ibn Khaldûn, vol. iv., p. 446.

assistance given to Mûsà, was again taken from Granáda,
1387. and thither came Ahmad II., who regained his throne, and put the wazeer, Ibn Másái, to death, by cutting off his hands and feet.[1]

At this point, unfortunately, the records of Ibn Khaldûn, the great historian—who had for the past few decades held high office, either in Granáda or Fez,—cease entirely, and until some further manuscript shall be discovered, only scanty details are available.

Scarcity of Records.

The close of the fourteenth century was a period of chaos for the Mohammedan realms on either side of the Straits. In Granáda a civil war between the ameer's sons was only averted by the intervention of the Moorish
1391. ambassador,[2] although the ameer of Morocco is
1396. credited with having procured the death of his contemporary of Granáda some years later, by presenting him with a poisoned cloak.[3] In Morocco Ahmad II. (Abu
1393. el 'Abbás) was succeeded by his son, 'Abd el 'Azîz II., surnamed Abu Fáris, who was in turn followed by
1396. his son, Fáris II. (el Mutawakkil, "the Confident"), but nothing is known concerning him. In his time
1406. Gibraltar willingly rejected the Granadines in favour of the Moors, and Granáda was forced to seek help from both Tunis and Morocco.[4]

Already the fleet of Prince Henry III. of Spain had
1400. attacked Tetuan, and the Portuguese were turning envious eyes in the direction of Morocco, where
1408. Abu 'Aïnán's son, Abu Sâïd III., was next proclaimed. Ceuta was their first point of
1415. attack, and its capture was the beginning of an African colony laden with promise but barren of fruit.
1416. This disorganised Morocco, where Abu Sâïd was deposed, and his country divided between two claimants,

Spanish and Portuguese Invasions.

[1] Ibn Khaldûn, l.c., p. 446.
[2] Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1765, vol. iii., p. 204.
[3] *Ibid.*, l.c., p. 260. [4] Chenier, French Ed., vol. ii., p. 248.

Sâïd II. and Yâḳûb III., under whom the Marrákesh
1423. Bishopric was deserted. They gave place to the last of their house, 'Abd Allah III., in whose reign an
1437. attempt on Tangier[1] by the Portuguese, though directed by Prince Henry—famous as "the Navigator"—proved most disastrous. Cut off by the Moors on the Marshán, the invaders only escaped with their lives by leaving Henry's brother, Fernando, as a hostage for their evacuation of Ceuta.[2] To this the Portuguese Government would not consent, and obtained papal sanction for breaking the truce. Fernando was left to his fate—death after several years' imprisonment in Fez—and is remembered amongst his fellow-countrymen as a martyr.

Dom Fernando the Martyr.

The Empire had reached its lowest ebb. With its neighbours Tlemçen and Tunis independent, its foothold in Europe gone for ever, and its internal government chaotic, the moment had come for an invasion by the Spaniards and Portuguese, who with a little more vigour and a little less fanaticism, might have become the masters of
1471. the whole. Abd Allah himself met his fate at the hands of a shareef assassin, and by his death the direct line of the Beni Marîn was severed.

But in the ancient city of Azila, a remnant of Phœnician times, the first ocean port in Morocco beyond the Straits, there ruled a member of the same tribe, but of another family, Sâïd III. (el Waṭṭâṣ),* a man of no small power in those troublous times.[3] Upon him devolved the task of avenging 'Abd
1471. Allah's death. Brief as was the authority of

The Waṭṭâṣi Branch.

* Mulai Sâïd es-Sheikh el Waṭṭâṣ, known to the Portuguese as "Mulaysecque," and in Pory's Leo as "Saic Abra." Abd Allah appears there as "Habdulac."

[1] See En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 149.
[2] Leo (Brown), p. 626. See Menezes, *Historia de Tangere.*
[3] See En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., p. 159.

the assassin, he was nevertheless able, with an army of eight thousand men,[1] to resist the attacks of El Waṭṭâs on Fez, and once at least to overcome him. This was probably due to a diversion created in his rear by the Portuguese, who in his absence had captured Azîla, and with it his wives and children. El Waṭṭâs arrived too late to prevent their deportation with five thousand prisoners as slaves to Lisbon, and being "hard pressed by the shareef," he was fain to conclude a treaty with the foreigners.

Loss of Azîla. 1471.

El Waṭṭâs recognised the Portuguese as masters not only of Azîla, but also of Tangier—the inhabitants of which had fled on hearing of the attack upon Azîla,—of El Ḳaṣar es-Ṣaghîr—which had been taken by surprise some time earlier,—and of Ceuta, which had been in their possession over half a century. Several years, however, elapsed before El Waṭṭâs could make satisfactory terms for the return of his son Mohammed, who had meanwhile received a Portuguese education, but came home with bitter feelings towards his captors. The price of his liberty included, besides a large sum of money, the remains of the miracle-working body of Dom Fernando.*

Tangier and El Ḳaṣar es-Ṣaghîr abandoned to the Portuguese. 1458. 1415.

Relieved of his foreign foe by the loss of so much, El Waṭṭâs was free to conquer much more, and after besieging Fez for a year, he was admitted by the townsfolk, and the shareef was forced to take refuge in Tunis.[2] Proclaimed as ameer in Fez, the first of a new dynasty, El Waṭṭâs ruled at least the surrounding district, although he was fated to lose Melilla, his only remaining port of value. This was captured, under Medina Sidonia, by the Spaniards, whose sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella,

1497.

* For reputed miracles effected by his sanctity,[3] see chapter xv.

[1] Leo (Brown), p. 505. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 305,
[3] João Alvarez, *Cronica do sancto. . . . Dom Ferdinando*, 1527.

1492. had recovered from Islám the kingdom of Granáda, and had forced its king to take refuge in Morocco. Many of the Spanish Moors, expelled about this time by the victorious "Catholic Princes" on a two months' notice, found homes in Morocco, but apparently not to its great advantage. The opening years of the sixteenth 1500. century saw the son of El Waṭṭás, Mohammed VIII., surnamed "the Portuguese," established in Fez.

Portuguese Successes.

The Portuguese then settled at this time at Mogador and Mazagan,[1] and took possession 1506. of Saffi, Agadîr and finally Azammûr. They 1507. succeeded also in withstanding Mohammed's 1513. determined attacks on Azîla, although in the 1511 and 1516. first instance, when Leo Africanus was among the besieging Moors,[2] only by the timely aid of João de Menezes, then governor of Tangier, and of a Spanish fleet under Pedro Navarro, who had previously captured 1508. Velez. This was wrested from them by the 1522. Turks, who cut the Spanish garrison to pieces.[3] Mohammed had not reigned a quarter of a century when, by his overthrow, ended the rule of his house, a rule marked only by loss and decay, though it had lasted over three hundred years.

At that time, and for some time afterwards, it seemed probable that Spain and Portugal would soon be masters

Spain and Portugal in Morocco.

of the Moorish Empire,[4] thus to repay themselves for the long years that the Moors had ruled them, but the time had not yet come for Europeans to carve out colonial dependencies in Africa, and from one reason or another the initial conquests which had cost so much were not followed up. Outside the walls of the Mediterranean ports which the foreigners captured* no footing was to be

* Alhucemas was not taken till 1554, and Velez was not re-taken till 1564.

1 EN-NÁṢIRI, vol. ii., p. 167. 2 LEO, p. 506.
3 TORRES, p. 433. 4 See CHENIER, French Ed., vol. ii., chapter vi.

obtained on the neighbouring hills of Rîf, defended by warlike Berbers, but on the plains of Dukkála, 'Abda, and Ḥáḥá, outside Mazagan and Saffi, dwelt a very different people, easily controlled and forced to pay tribute. Marmol[1] enumerates many villages in these provinces, as well as in the Ghárb and Ulád 'Amrán district, and even among the Berbers, which contributed hundreds of thousands of fanegas of grain, a thousand camel loads of wheat and barley coming from 'Abda alone,[2] besides four falcons and six fine horses as a present for the governor of Saffi. The Moors actually furnished cavalry to the number of sixteen thousand, and infantry to that of two hundred thousand,[3] so that the dominion of Portugal in Morocco was no mere name. This influence doubtless arose, in the main, from assistance wisely rendered to turbulent tribes,[4] and we have the testimony of El Ufráni[5] as to the friendly relations which sometimes existed between the Moors and the Portuguese, as when the wife of the foreign captain visited the native villages, or witnessed "powder-play" performed in her honour, and still more so when, Mazagan being attacked by El 'Ayáshi,

1639. the neighbouring Ulád Bro 'Azîz were friendly to the Portuguese.*

The Outside World.

Meanwhile in Europe Leo X., the indulger of crime and the sponsor of Leo Africanus (El Ḥasan

1513. el Wazzázi el Fâsi), had ascended and disgraced the papal chair; the ubiquitous Charles the Fifth had

1516. either conquered or inherited half the continent of Europe; the Reformation had been established in

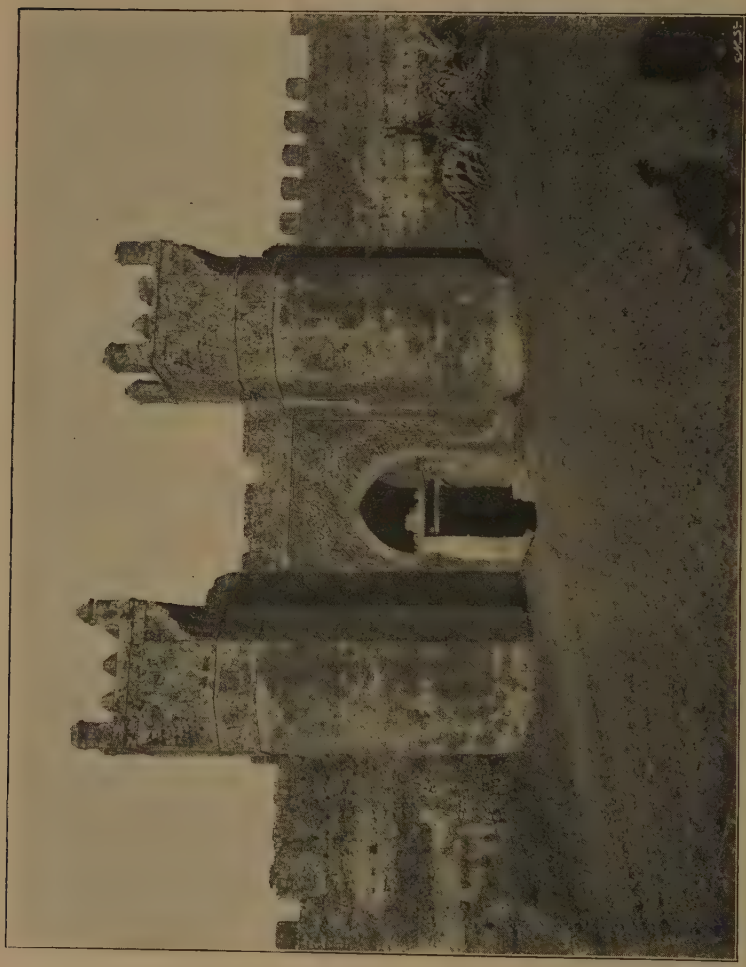
1519. England; Cortes had set forth on the discovery

* One Yaḥyà bin Táfût, who assisted the Portuguese as native deputy governor in the interior, visited Lisbon,[6] but though they seem to have been wise in their policy, it was without avail.

[1] Vol. i., p. 343, and ii., pp. 21, 28, 50, 109, 111, 112, 115, 229, and 246.
[2] Torres, pp. 15, 16. [3] Marmol. [4] Torres, p. 18.
[5] pp. 446, 447. [6] Godard, p. 421.

1521. of Mexico, and Gustavus Vasa had delivered Sweden. In the Orient events no whit less stirring had 1501. occurred. The Sufî dynasty had come to power in Persia; the Turks had conquered Syria and 1516. Egypt, and were preparing to attack Vienna; 1517. Barbarossa* had become the Turkish ruler of 1523. Algiers, and the Knights of Rhodes had developed into the owners of Malta, while in India Baber 1525. was establishing the Mogul Empire. In the same year the Turks became masters of Tunis and threatened Morocco.

* Anglicé "Red-beard."



THE SHELLA GATE, RABAT

Cavilla, Photo., Tangier

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH

THE STAGNATION OF EMPIRE

(SÂADI PERIOD)

1524–1668

THE epoch of Empire had passed. Spain had been for ever lost to the world of Islám. To the eastward had arisen a seaport, beautiful in situation, which was to become the capital of a new State, and to impart its name to the Central Maghrib—now Algeria.* Within a few years this new State annexed the intervening kingdom of Tlemçen, thus effectually hemming in the Moors on that side also.

Restricted Area.

True it was that to the South there stretched a gold-producing land, the "Country of the Blacks," the Ṣûdán, veritably "El Dorado." Yet between it and Morocco lay the rolling Sáḥara, more awful even than the sea itself In this direction only, since the fifteenth century, the Moors have turned their thoughts when eager for a wider sway. But though on two occasions they have piloted successful expeditions to Timbuctoo, they have never retained possession of more than what at present constitutes their Empire, if it any longer deserves that name. Since the fall of the Beni Marîn it has only included the kingdoms

* The English corruption "Algiers" represents the Arab name "El Jazaïr," or "The Peninsulas," recalling its natural harbour. Algeciras, *i.e.*, El Jazîra, is distinguished by native writers as Jazîrat el Khadra, "The Green Island."

of Fez and Marrákesh, the southern province of Sûs, and the undefined districts beyond the Atlas, Tûát, Tafilált and the Drâa.

Limits of Empire.

It is even uncertain how far the authority of the last of the Beni Marîn extended. It was practically confined to the kingdom of Fez, although the ruler of Marrákesh was a vassal whose authority did not extend beyond the city walls. Bádis (Peñon de Velez) had been in a similar position,[1] and Saffi had formed a sort of republic. Even in the northern kingdom the Berbers had almost regained their independence. Portugal possessed the best part of the sea-coast, and internal divisions were such that the Portuguese taunted the Moors with having no chief with whom they could treat.[2] Under circumstances such as these the pressure of the foreigners grew serious, and it became imperative to choose a leader somewhere.

Origin of Sâadi Shareefs.

1510.

After much deliberation the principal chiefs and religious leaders of southern Morocco offered to follow a certain shareef or noble* who had earned great reputation in the Drâa,†[3] Mohammed, afterwards known as El Ḳáïm bi 'Amr Illah, "The Upright by Command of God." Thus the record of El Ufráni, though, quoting native verbal reports a century earlier, Torres had described the sons of this shareef as the trusted friends of El Waṭṭáṣ, and the tutors of his sons, attributing their rise to power to confidence abused.[4] Four generations back‡ his ancestors had been

* In consequence of the claim to this title having been disputed, and of the assertion that this family only belonged to the Beni Sâad, it was contemptuously known as the Sâadi dynasty. It has also been known as the Hosaïni.

† Whence this dynasty has sometimes been incorrectly described as Drâwi.

‡ Or according to some authorities five.[5]

[1] Torres, pp. 4 and 6. [2] El Ufráni, pp. 20 and 21.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 23 and 25. [4] pp. 9 and 10. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

imported from Arabia, from Yanboâ, the seaport near Madîna, that their presence might assure as good a date crop as the importation of their cousins, the Fîláli shareefs, was believed to have secured in Sajilmása.*[1]

Promptly the call went forth throughout Morocco to a "Holy War," and everywhere men flocked around the new-raised standard. At first it would appear that there was no expressed intention of seizing the kingdom, for the sovereign of Fez was content to receive their support and to contribute troops.[2] A successful descent on the newly-formed Portuguese station at Agadîr Ighîr led Ḥaḥá and Shiádhma to place themselves under Mohammed IX. Associating his two sons in the administration, the shareef first settled at Tarudant, where he built a new town,[3] and a few years later, on the death of the reigning king, the elder son, Ahmad IV., entered Marrákesh.

A "Holy War."

1511.

1516.

1519.

The devastation of a fearful plague retarded to some extent the development of the new power, but a few years later a repulse of the foreigners by the shareefs seemed marvellously to increase their prestige, so that next year they were able to defeat the ameer of Fez in a pitched battle wherein thousands perished.[4] An attempt was then made to divide the Empire at the Um er-Rabîâ, from Tádla to the coast,[5] but peace could not even then be maintained.

Conquest of Fez.

1521.

1525.

1526.

1533.

To add to their difficulties, soon after Santa Cruz (Fonte) had been captured—to be replaced by the new town of Agadîr—the two brothers quarrelled. Hitherto the younger, Mohammed, surnamed Es-Sheikh, had been content with the second place, but

1536.

1540.

* See p. 135.

1 El Ufráni, pp. 480–483. 2 Torres, p. 30. 3 El Ufráni.
4 Torres. 5 El Ufráni, p. 39.

now he proved a formidable rival to the elder, Ahmad el Aâraj ("the Lame"), since his fortunes had been so
1536. greatly enhanced by defeating the Beni Marîn.* Naturally his next step was to attack his brother, whom
1539. ere long he overcame, forcing him to give up Sûs and the Drâa, but leaving him Marrákesh and Tafilált, and acknowledging Ahmad's son as heir of the whole.[1]

A determined assault was made upon Saffi in that year, so determined that the women had to arm and line the
1539. ramparts. The place was only saved by a remarkable occurrence, the most timely succour of a Jew, one Samuel Valenciano, who arrived with ships from Azammûr, and also headed a sortie so successful that the siege was raised after lasting six months. The terrible losses of the Portuguese decided them to attempt its defence no longer, and the place was
1541. abandoned.[2]

Siege and Abandonment of Saffi.

Mohammed's ultimate success was now assured, and within a decade he was master of the Empire, having
1543. vanquished his brother (whom he put in prison
1544. in Marrákesh), and also the king of Fez, although the latter still continued to reign. On the evacuation of
1545. Azammûr by the Portuguese—"from sheer fright"[3]—another thorn was removed from his side. After five years of preparation, Mohammed X. set out with
1549. an army of forty thousand[4] from Marrákesh, by a specially opened gate surmounted for the occasion by heads of lions to the number of fifty, which his kaids had collected from all parts for the purpose. Mequinez had

* It was in this contest that in 1538 the exiled "Boabdil"—Abu 'Abd Allah—of Granáda, lost his life, having taken refuge with the Beni Marîn. Clenardus paid his visit to Morocco at this time (see *The Moors*, chap. xviii).

[1] Torres.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[3] El Ufráni, p. 68.
[4] Torres.

1548. already been taken,[1] and Fez was entered after
1550. a siege of some months, while Ḳásem, the fourth and last of the Beni Waṭṭáṣ ameers, was sent off in chains to Marrákesh,[2] and his daughter wedded to the conqueror.[3]

Thirsting, like his predecessors, for empire, Mohammed

AN ALGERIAN TYPE

next turned his attention to Tlemçen[4] Ceuta and Mos-
Capture of Tlemçen. taganem,[5] which he captured. Tlemçen he
1551. held for ten years, till seized by the Turks, who had in the interim taken Fez and Bádis on behalf
1554. of the Beni Marîn,[6] though soon afterwards

1 El Ufráni, p. 53. 2 Torres, p. 54. 3 *Ibid.*
4 El Ufráni, p. 55. 5 Torres, p. 182. 6 *Ibid.*, p. 420.

they lost them. In answer to an appeal made in person by Ḳásem's wife and sister, Sulaïmán the Magnificent* had attempted to retrieve his fallen fortunes by despatching to Morocco an Algerian envoy, who was also to define the limits of their respective jurisdictions. Yet as the haughty Turk had addressed Mohammed only as "My Sheïkh of the Arabs,"[1] his envoy was sent back without reply, but with a robe of honour such as Oriental potentates bestow upon inferiors, directed to "the Prince of Sailors,"[2] in allusion to the Turkish fleet. Mohammed even entertained the hope of conquering Egypt, and expelling the "heretics"; but his desire was fated never to be realised, for on his departure for the Atlas he was
1557. assassinated by one of a party of pretended Turkish deserters.[3] These men cut off his head and conveyed it to Constantinople, where it was exhibited upon the walls.[4]

Three days after Mohammed's death his imprisoned brother was also murdered, and the way was opened for the accession of his son, 'Abd Allah IV.—El Ghálib b'Illah, "the Victorious in God." Mohammed had decreed that the succession should fall to the eldest male of the house,[5] a custom which though it continued to be held in theory was departed from in practice.

After so much civil dissension it was fortunate that 'Abd Allah's administration was wise, and that he could be described as "not a sultan, but a saint—the jewel of the shareefs,"[6]—though he did put ten of his twelve brothers to death.[7] Ahmad, one of the survivors, was spared as a student not likely to try for the throne, and the other, 'Abd el Málek, who eventually ousted 'Abd Allah's son from the kingdom, escaped to

"A Saint of a Sultan."

1557.

* Called by El Ufráni the "Shah."

[1] El Ufráni. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79. [3] Torres, p. 460. [4] El Ufráni, p. 80. [5] El Ufráni, p. 118. [6] *Ibid.* [7] "Ro. C."

1560. Constantinople. This reign saw the Deys
1570. established in Algiers, and the Beys in Tunis,
1571. while in Europe the advance of the Turks was
1585. checked at Lepanto, and in Asia, a decade later, they were driven out of Persia.

In western Europe, likewise, it was an important
1558. epoch, for while under "good Queen Bess"
Affairs in Europe. the English were becoming known as a naval power, the "Moriscos"—as the mingled races of
1567. Spain were called—rose against the Spaniards,
1570. and were driven in large numbers to Morocco.
1572. In France the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day had taken place, and Portugal had exiled her most famous poet, Camoens, to far Macao. In Morocco the
1558. only events of note were a fearful plague, an
1562. unsuccessful siege of Mazagan, the building of
1563. the mosque of the Shorfá and the college of the mosque of 'Alî bin Yûsef at Marrákesh. The dome and tower of El Manṣûr's mosque in that city were
1573. destroyed by a mine contrived by Christian slaves, whose intention it had been thus to destroy the congregation at the Friday service.[1]

When 'Abd Allah died he left three sons, a mulatto,
1574. Mohammed XI., surnamed El Mutawakkal âlà Allah (the Deputy of God) or El Maṣlûkh ("the Flayed"), who succeeded him, and two who fled to Spain, where one of them became a Christian.* Both returned to Morocco to claim the throne,[2] and alike they failed. Their uncle 'Abd el Málek I.—Abu Merwán—was more fortunate.
Turkish Intrigues. Anxious to extend his influence, and to secure the right to be considered the Khalîfa of Islám,
1517. —which the Turks had assumed since their

* See chapter xv.

1 El Ufráni, p. 92. 2 "Ro. C."

conquest of Egypt earlier in the century,—after having recovered Tunis from the successors of Charles V., Amurat III. of Constantinople was nothing loth to support
1575. a pretender to the Moorish throne. Accordingly, when Mohammed had reigned but two years, 'Abd el Málek returned with four thousand men, worsted his nephew near Táza, enrolled in his own ranks the van-
1576. quished army, and marched victoriously on Fez, where he was received with acclamation and forthwith proclaimed.

In 'Abd el Málek's reign two incidents occurred which are of interest to us. A quarter of a century before an
1551. English captain, Master Thomas Windham, had successfully performed the "first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie," although one Aldaie "professeth himselfe to haue bene the first inwentor of this trade."[1] The success of the experiment had induced another voyage in the following year, and at last the promising outlook led to
1577. the appointment of an English envoy, "Mr. Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne Esquires of Her Majestie's person."* Mr. Hogan was accredited to "the King of Marucos and Fesse," though the ambassador's report describes his Majesty as "of Fes and Sûs."[2] Queen Elizabeth's instructions to him are still extant in MSS.[3] In the same year Henry III. of France created a consulate of Morocco and Fez.[4]

Intercourse with Queen Elizabeth.

The deposed Mohammed XI. at first found safety in Marrákesh, but on being besieged therein fled, "as was

* See chapter xvi.

[1] Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. ii., pt. ii., pp. 7, 8.

[2] Hakluyt, l.c., p. 64; in Kerr's *Voyages*, vol. vii.; and in Jackson's *Houssa and Timbuctoo*, p. 494.

[3] Catalogue of Harleian Library, vol. i., p. 8, cod. 37, art. 38, and in Public Record Office (see Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, vol. 1575–1577).

[4] Thomassy, MSS. in *Min. des Aff. Etrangères.*

A Deposed Ameer.

his wont,"[1] to Tangier, to appeal to the Portuguese, excusing himself for this step in a voluminous manifesto,[2] "because the Muslims have
1578. failed me and broken their oath of allegiance, and the jurisconsults declare it lawful to use every means in one's power against him who has seized one's property." This excuse was haughtily dismissed by the âolámà, or "wise men," in a still more lengthy remonstrance, which doubtless fully expressed the popular feeling. In spite of this, Mohammed's appeal for aid brought about the ill-fated invasion by Sebastian, which put an end to Portugal's designs upon Morocco, and destroyed the influence which she had already acquired. No incident in Moorish history has roused more outside interest, and few have had a greater effect, for it was the loss of this rash young King of Portugal which led to the union of his country with Spain.*

The Battle of El Kaṣar.

It was after midsummer when Dom Sebastian landed at Tangier with over seventeen thousand men, and advanced on El Ḳaṣar by way of Azîla. Crossing the Wád Makẖázan, a tributary of Wád El Ḳûs,
1578. he found himself confronted by a countless horde of Moors. After a vain attempt to come to terms—the Portuguese to possess the coast and leave the Moors to themselves inland[3]—'Abd el Málek waited till the invaders had crossed the bridge, and then destroyed it behind them. He was unable to command in person, for he lay at death's door in his litter, and died in the course of the morning. But his renegade chamberlain concealed the fact, and continued to issue commands in his name till the day was won.[4] And he was not the only king who

* See "A declaration of the battayle betwyxte the Kynge of Barbarie and the Kynge of Portingale, the 4 of August last," or F.O. Docs., vol. 1575-1669, in Public Record Office.

[1] El Ufráni, p. 113. [2] Given in full by El Ufráni, p. 114.
[3] El Ufráni, p. 132. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

lost his life on that fateful day, for Mohammed, when he saw how the battle went, in vain tried to flee by swimming the river, but sank. His body was recovered by the victors, who skinned and stuffed it, parading it through the streets of the cities.[1] There was still another royal victim in the fight,—since known as "the Battle of the Three Kings"—Dom Sebastian himself, whose rashness had throughout been provocative of his fate, even to risking a day attack in that blazing sun, though warned against it by his Moorish allies.*

Strange Sequels.

Strange conceits were destined to arise from the events of this day. The Moors declared that the Portuguese were so incensed at defeat, that after ransoming their prisoners they burned them on the charge of playing into the enemy's hands,[2] and in consequence their country was so destitute of men that their priests obtained indulgences for licence that they might by any means restore their numbers.[3] Among the Portuguese the belief long prevailed that Sebastian had not perished, but had been made captive,† although the recognition of

* According to "A Dolorous Discourse of a most terrible and bloody Battel fought in Barbarie, the Fourth day of August last past, 1578," besides the Portuguese, "in this conflicte were slaine 3000 Almaines, 700 Italians, and 2000 Spaniards" The total loss of life on this day has been estimated at about fifteen thousand. The number of accounts of the battle published at the time in English, French, Spanish, Italian and Latin, show what a widespread interest was felt in the expedition, which was looked upon as a crusade.

† Sebastian was said to have returned to Portugal secretly, and to have wandered thence to the courts of Prester John and the Shah of Persia, serving the latter some years as a commander; then to have visited Jerusalem, Constantinople, Central Europe, England, Holland, France, and Naples, where he became a hermit. Great excitement was aroused by the announcement of these facts, but twenty years after the battle the alleged prince was shown to be an impostor, in reality one "Marco Tullio Catizone," a Calabrian merchant trading with Portugal, who, from some fancied resemblance to the lost king, had been persuaded by the monks to personate him. "And

[1] El Ufráni, p. 135. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 136. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

his body by Portuguese prisoners, and its burial, are circumstantially narrated by a survivor of the expedition.[1] From one of Queen Elizabeth's letters to "Mir'al Mummenin, Xerif of Marocco, Fez and Sûs," dated at her palace of St. James in 1588,[2] it appears that one Portuguese prince at least remained captive, and in the ameer's reply,[3] *dated four years later*, he asks her to send him aid against his foes. Another item of interest in this battle was the presence of some seven hundred papal soldiers under an Englishman, Thomas Stukely, diverted at Lisbon on their way to aid a rebellion in Ireland.[4]

After this famous battle there came to the Moorish throne the third son of Mohammed IX., Ahmad V. (el Manṣûr). He was also known as Ed-Ḏhahebi, "The Golden," by reason of his expeditions to Timbuctoo, the chief events of a reign characterised by peace and plenty. For these distant errands he employed the restless Berber chieftains, whose sons, as hostages, were educated at the Moorish Court.[5] His relations with the European powers were amicable, especially with Queen Elizabeth, for whom he seems to have conceived a profound admiration, as shown by their correspondence.[6]

Reign of **Ahmad V. Ed-Ḏhahebi.**

1578.

When the victory of El Ḳaṣar was announced, am-

the monke hath burned and branded him with hote yrons in the same places, with the like marks, that Dom Sebastian had."[7] So the Duke of Florence had him arrested and sent to the galleys, where he suffered execution, though to the last the monks did what they could, and many believed in him throughout, as witness the pamphlet quoted, which was freely circulated in Italian, French, Spanish, and English, not to mention Portuguese.[8] See Part III., "Fiction."

1 MENDOZA, chaps. iii., iv. 2 *Bib. Harl. Cat.*, vol. i., p. 176, cod. 269, art. 11.

3 Syllabus of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 819.

4 See "The Voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called the Marques of Ireland [Leinster], into Barbary in 1578," in HAKLUYT's collection, vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 67. Also Part III., "Fiction." 5 "Ro. C."

6 Portions are preserved in the Public Record Office, "Modern Royal Letters," 2nd Series, 1577. See specimen in chap. xvi.

7 *Continuation of the . . . Adventures of Dom Sebastian.*

8 See also D'AUTAS' *Les Faux Don Sebastian.*

bassadors arrived from every side, including Portugal, whence came among the presents no less than three hundred thousand ducats in coin, and carriages which, more than anything, surprised the populace.[1] An embassy
1601. was sent to England, and foreign artisans were freely introduced to work in Italian marbles at Marrákesh,[2] where the ameer cultivated sugar with which he paid for his marble, weight for weight.[3] But the ambassador from Turkey felt so slighted by the treatment he received, that his master Amurat ordered an expedition against Morocco, which was only deterred by the receipt of valuable presents.[4] The evacuation of Azîla also took
1589. place under Ahmad V., after a serious siege, in which mines were employed.[5]

The aggressive expeditions of this reign commenced with the invasion of the oases of Tûát and Tigûrárin, which had hitherto been practically independent, though
1582. they appear to have yielded at some time, at least, to a spiritual supremacy on the part of Morocco.[6]

Expedition to Timbuctoo.

Success in this enterprise fired the ameer with a desire to undertake a jehád, or religious war, and to assume the khalîfate. Accordingly the ruler of the western Ṣûdán was invited to acknowledge his supremacy, and for the defence of Islám to levy a tax of a mitkal (ducat) on each load of salt extracted from the mines of Tigházi, which supplied the country round.

The ruler of the Mohammedan blacks on the Upper
1590. Niger at that time was one Is'háḳ, a Sonrhai prince of Kaghû, a Sanháji by race, whose dynasty had been established at the close of the thirteenth century, recognising the authority of the 'Abbási Khálifa of Egypt.[7] This connection was in itself sufficient to pre-

[1] El Ufráni, p. 145. [2] "Ro. C." [3] El Ufráni, p. 261.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 151. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 263. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 154. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

OUTER GATE, RABAT

Cawitle, Photo., Tangier

vent acquiescence in such a demand, but Egypt was very far off, and the eastern khalifate had been wiped out of existence. So there was no help forthcoming, and refusal excusing invasion, Timbuctoo was captured by the Moors.[1] They crossed the Niger in pursuit, but in vain laid siege to Kaghû. Nevertheless the submissions which were received extended the Empire to Káno,[2] and the whole of the eastern Ṣûdán was theirs. Among the captives brought to Marrákesh on this occasion was the learned Ahmad Bábá, the historian of the Sonrhai nation, "the one negroid man of letters whose name holds a worthy place beside those of Leo Africanus, Ibn Khaldûn, Et-Tûnisi, and other Hamitic writers,"[3] whom the ameer afterwards permitted to return.*

1591.

All this meant the gathering of enormous tribute; one batch included twelve hundred slaves, of gold-dust forty loads, and four gold-mounted saddles, not to count good store of ebony, musk and civ

Tapping a Gold-Field.

The result of tapping this gold-field† ke fourteen hundred punches going in the Moorish capit coining gold alone.[4] In Marrákesh the vast palace know as Dár el Bideeâ was built, to fall a century later before that destructive builder, Mulai Ismâïl. Outside Fez were erected the conspicuous forts which still retain the name imparted by their foreign builders, the "Bastions,"[5] and in Laraiche and other cities fortresses were built. The Timbuctoo expedition brought into Morocco for the first time an article which in England was contemporaneously

* En-Náṣiri (vol. iii., p. 63) states that his family was robbed of 1600 volumes.

† See "The Trading of the Moores into Guinee and Gago for gold-ore or sandie gold," from Ro. C's. "True Historicall Discourse," in "Purchas His Pilgrims," vol. ii.

[1] El Ufráni, p. 165. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[3] Prof. Keene, *Man, Past and Present*, chap iii.
[4] El Ufráni, p. 167. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

Introduction of Tobacco.

sold for its weight in silver,[1] tobacco, "that evil plant!"[2] It is said to have been brought by the blacks who came from the Ṣûdán in charge of an elephant, the cause of even more excitement than the carriages from Portugal.* The ameer's objection to intoxicating drink was so great that he beheaded the Spanish renegade to whom he had entrusted the education of the heir apparent, Mohammed es-Sheïkh, for having taught him its use.[3]

An Ameer's Character.

The sovereign whose reign these events had marked is described as a clever, widely read man, possessing a fine library. He contemplated a collection of poems by shareefs, and was himself the author of a work on politics, and of prayers for special occasions. Specimens of his works were even sent to Cairo for the approval of the literati. As a great calligraphist he exercised his ingenuity in the invention of a special set of characters for private correspondence.[4]

1603. On his death from the plague he was buried at Marrákesh in a splendid mausoleum.[5]

Succession Scramble.

Notwithstanding the precaution of causing allegiance to be twice sworn to his son, Mohammed es-Sheïkh, his death was the signal for a general scramble. Three of his sons, on one excuse or another, laid claim to the throne, and in Morocco the seventeenth century, though it had so peacefully opened, saw the country plunged in an unusually complicated civil war.

* A like excitement probably never stirred till three centuries later Queen Victoria presented Mulai el Ḥasan III. with an Indian elephant.[6] By a curious coincidence it was not until this second elephantine guest arrived that determined measures were taken to put down the use of tobacco by the Moors. The use of the "weed" has always been considered among them as a doubtful practice, but as theological opinions differed in respect of its legality, the habit of smoking crept in. (See *The Moors*, chapter vi.)

1 Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica.*
2 El Ufráni, p. 264. 3 Ro. C. 4 El Ufráni, pp. 218, 225, 226.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 306 (inscription quoted). 6 See chapter xvii.

Zïdán, who was governor of Tádla, where he had begun
1603. to build a city on the Um er-Rabîâ, to be called Zîdánîa,[1] was the first proclaimed at Fez, but was refused in Marrákesh. The Red City decided for the governor of Sûs, 'Abd el 'Azîz III., surnamed Abu Fáris[2] (the name by which he is better known), and entitled El Wáthik b'Illah, "The Reliant on God."

The third brother, Mohammed XII. (es-Sheïkh), the heir-apparent, had, by reason of rebellion against his father the year before, been seized, even in sanctuary, and cast into the prison of Mequinez. The governor immediately conveyed him to Marrákesh, where his brother Abu Fáris set him free on the condition of his abjuring his claim, and entrusted him with an army, wherewith he routed Zîdán, who fled to Tlemçen and Tafîlált. Mohammed's next step was to march with the remnant of Zîdán's army
1606. to Fez, where he was proclaimed, and soon after was able to drive Abu Fáris from Marrákes The inhabitants summoned Zîdán to their aid, but th gh he took possession temporarily, the army of Es heïkh captured the city once more, and once more sacked it.
1607. The people fled to the Jebel Gîlîz, where they elected as ameer another Mohammed, a grandson of Mohammed IX., and under his leadership recovered Marrákesh. But objections were raised against him, and
1608. Zîdán was recalled to become sole ruler, though the son of Es-Sheïkh, who had already strangled Abu Fáris, made a vain attack upon him.

At this juncture Es-Sheïkh appealed for assistance to Felipe III. of Spain—he who expelled the Moriscos next
1609. year—in return for which he gave Laraiche,* but his attempt was unsuccessful, and he was killed in his

* He had at first offered Salli and El Ḳaṣar as well, if helped with men and money, employing as his ambassador an Italian merchant.[3]

[1] Ro. C. [2] El Ufráni, p. 309. [3] Ro. C.

1613. camp four years later.[1]* On the other hand, Zîdán secured the services of some two hundred English volunteers under Captain John Giffard,† and also entered into a treaty with the States General,[2] to which he sent an embassy. An interesting diplomatic episode of the times had been the adventures of Sir Anthony Sherley, an Englishman, who came to Saffi from the Emperor of Germany.[3] Another noteworthy visitor to Morocco during this reign was Jakob van Gool, or Golius, as he was styled, the Leyden professor of Oriental languages, whose written Arabic astonished the ameer, but who could not manage to converse with him except in Spanish.[4] Zîdán must himself have been something of a scholar, for he loved his books, the collection, probably, made by his father. He entrusted 3000 volumes[5] to a Frenchman to transport by sea to a place of safety during a rebellion—raised by Abu Mahalli, whom he ultimately overcame—but the vessel containing them and other of his valuables was driven out to sea by a storm, as so often occurs at that port, before the ameer himself went on board, and was captured by a Spanish privateer.[6] The French consul was in consequence arrested, and Razelli, the envoy from France, was sent back to demand their return, his suite being imprisoned for several years till a new king reigned.[7] Zîdán's son and

European Relations.

1605.

1622.

The Escorial Library.

1624.

* El Ufráni tells of an unsuccessful expedition in 1613 of Christians, who occupied a citadel on the Wád el Ḥalk, but the retreat of their vessels being cut off, they were caught in the river, three hundred Moorish slaves on board being liberated, and three hundred Christians captured. The Algerines purchased the captain, whom they placed in an iron cage.

† See chapter xii.

1 Ro. C., p. 323. 2 Dumont, t v.; Aitzema, t. i.
3 Fully described by Ro. C. in an unpaged publication (see chapter xvi.)
4 Höst, p. 34; Windus, p. 222; Godard, p. 482. 5 En-Náṣiri, vol. iii., p. 128.
6 Puerto, p. 254; El Ufráni, p. 324; Réponse, p. 136; Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 284.
7 D'Angers (see chap. xvii).

successor imprisoned the Spanish friars instead, but never recovered the books, which were lodged in the Escorial, where they may yet be consulted.*

In addition to the revolt of Abu Mahalli, a reforming leader who took Marrákesh,† the people of Fez endeavoured to set up a leader of their own, but failed, and the city was sacked. In revenge, said a contemporary sheïkh, Si Geddár, "Mulai Idrees gave him such a kick that he sent him beyond the Wád el 'Abîd, which he could never afterwards cross to approach him."[1] What with these rebellions, and the

COIN OF MULAI ZÎDÁN

Area I.—"In the name of the most merciful God, the slave of God, the Imám, the Victorious in the Faith of God, Zîdán, Prince of the Faithful."

Margin I.—"Struck in the fortress (Fez)." [Date indecipherable.]

Area II.—"Son of the Imám Ahmad bin Imám Muhammed es-Sheïkh (bin) Imám es-Shareef El Hasan."

Margin II.—"For God earnestly desires to cleanse you from stains, ye who are of the family of the prophet."

struggle with his brothers, Zîdán had, in the opinion of El Ufráni,[2] as much as "would have blanched the hair of a child at the breast." To maintain himself, he was forced to seek aid from Turkey, to which he remitted—according to native

* In 1646 Mohammed XIII. wrote to Philip of Spain that they had been shipped for Agadîr, but that the Frenchman had endeavoured to steal them.[3] They were believed to include MSS. of St. Augustine.

† Coins were struck by this man at Ketáwa and Marrákesh from 1609 to 1613, under the title of Ab'ul 'Abbás Ahmad, "Abu Mahalli" being only a nickname. (See Fr. Nat. Col.)

[1] El Ufráni, p. 400. [2] p. 399. [3] Puerto, p. 476.

authors—ten hundredweight of gold, in return for which twelve thousand troops were sent, though all were wrecked on the way but one vessel.[1] The Spanish Moors whom Felipe III. had expelled,* had settled in large numbers in Salli, and had made the disorganised state of the country an excuse for setting up a republic of pirates. For support against them the ameer was fain to turn to England, and procured assistance from Charles I., which he employed with success.†

Expelled Moriscos. 1610. 1625.

On Zîdán's death the royal parasol was borne beside his son 'Abd el Málek II., a drunkard, whose life was taken by renegade assassins. He was followed by his brother El Walîd, a man of similar vice, who met with a similar fate.[2] A more enlightened ruler, careful of shedding blood, was then released from prison and proclaimed, Mohammed XIII. (es-Sheïkh es-Ṣaghîr), a third son of Zîdán, by a Spanish slave. He liberated many captives, set free the imprisoned missionaries, and permitted more to come.[3] From his reign dates the use of the title of sultán or emperor, which has since been borne by Moorish sovereigns, instead of that of ameer or prince. His happy reign of eighteen years—the one bright spot in the latter part of the Sâadi period—was terminated by his murder at the

1627. 1631. 1637.

Title of Sultan.

* The decree for their expulsion is given by Padre Guadalajara in his *Memorabile Expulsion y Iustissimo Destierro de los Moriscos de España* (Pamplona, 1613), p. 136. Three days' notice only was given, and money alone was allowed to be taken, life being forfeited by remaining, though children under four *electing to remain* might do so, as also the Morisco wives of Christians, but not the Morisco husbands of Christians, whose children under six months old might remain with their mothers. From one hundred and thirty places in Aragon there went forth sixty-four thousand souls, representing thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-three families, and all available galleys were pressed into the transport service.

† See chapter xii.

1 El Ufráni, pp. l.c. 2 *Ibid.*, 406–7. 3 Puerto, p. 393.

hand of some Berbers who found him thrown from his horse between El Ḳaṣar and Tetuan.[1]

The cordial relations which had begun to spring up during these disturbances, between the Moors and the Portuguese, who had no trouble in finding allies among the pretenders and rebels, led to an important religious rising under a certain "saint," El 'Ayáshi, known simply to the foreigners as "Santo." He, with an important following of Dilái Sanhája Berbers, made serious attacks on Mazagan, Laraiche, and Mâmôra, and though in no instance successful, he was so far victorious that when he came northward to Salli he was approached by its independent inhabitants in a manner "which decided him to cause his happy star to shine in the Salletîn heaven."[2] He was accepted as ruler from Táza to Tamsna, but the Andalucian Moors, newly settled in Salli, conspired against him and procured his death.[3] So holy was he, says one writer, that when his head was brought into town it continued to recite the Ḳor'án. Before he died he declared that he had accomplished the death of over seven thousand six hundred Christians.[4] Until then it had seemed probable that he would establish another dynasty, but this was to be the task of others. In Sûs,

Internal Rebellion. 1639.

A TOWN MOOR (SERVANT)

[1] Puerto, p. 541. [2] El Ufráni, p. 440. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 450. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

where hitherto the Fakîḥ Si 'Abd Allah M'bark had held sway, a separate administration was now set up by 'Ali es-Simláli. Fez, too, clamoured for independence, and ended by inviting from Tafîlált another race of shareefs.

1646. These made their first invasion during this
1648. reign, and were soon the masters of Fez.

On Mohammed's death his followers at once declared
1655. for Ahmad VI. (el 'Abbás), his son by a woman of the Shâbáni tribe. This important body, said to be descended from the Christian prisoners of Yâḳûb el Manṣûr,[1] was now strong enough under their Kaid 'Abd Allah el Hispáni to seize on Marrákesh, and put El 'Abbás
1659. to death by a treacherous use of his seal,[2] proclaiming as his successor his mother's brother, 'Abd el Karîm bin Abu Bakr, better known as "Krom el Háj."[3] This usurper ruled for several years, till Marrákesh was
1668. taken by Er-Rasheed, a sultan of a new dynasty, who decimated the Shâbáni, and enlisted the remainder, transporting their families to the mountains between Oojda and Melilla at Es-Saladîa.[4] He exhumed and burned the body of Krom el Háj,[5] who had been poignarded in the palace by the sister of El 'Abbás, whom he had forced to enter his ḥareem. His son, Mulai es-Sheikh, being captured by Er-Rasheed, he was dragged through the town at the tail of a mule.[6] The Fîláli shareefs had already been established over twenty years in Fez, and from this point dates their mastery of the Empire, that of their Sâadi predecessors having lasted nearly a century and a half.

1 Chenier. See p. 80. 2 Puerto, p. 544. 3 El Ufráni, p. 428.
4 Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 252. 5 El Ufráni, p. 477. 6 Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 53.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH

A MOORISH TYRANT

(EARLY FÎLÁLI PERIOD)

1649–1727

BY the close of the thirteenth century almost all trace had been lost in Morocco of the Idreesi shareefs who had founded the Empire, for though here and there survived some solitary member who was to transmit a somewhat doubtful claim to the present day, that family had been entirely dispersed by the Berbers who had since ruled the land. But the presence of descendants of Mohammed is believed by his followers to ensure prosperity, and the troubles of the Maghrib were attributed by some to the lack of such bringers of fortune. So certain enterprising spirits of Tafilált (or, as it was then called, Sajilmása), when they made their pilgrimage to Mekka, *Cir.* 1300. invited a shareef of Yanboâ en-Nákhil—of the family of Abu Ṭáleb, to whom Mohammed had granted that district—to settle amongst them.[1] The invitation was accepted by one El Ḥasan bin Ḳásem, thereafter surnamed Ed-Dákhil—"the Penetrator," *i.e.*, of the new home.*

Origin of the Fîláli Shareefs.

* "As for the popular legend that they paid his father the weight of his son in silver, that is one of the vain fables which have neither tail nor head. God knoweth better than any what is the real truth."[2]

[1] El Ufráni, pp. 480–483; En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., p. 3. [2] El Ufráni, p. 482.

The ancestors of these Fîláli shareefs were also those of the Sâadi shareefs, imported subsequently for a similar reason, whom the Fîlálîs were to succeed on the throne of Morocco. The Sâadi family settled in the Drâa country, also south of the Atlas, whence they made their way to power on the fall of the Beni Marîn. The Fîlálîs—probably more correctly Hîlálîs—who had given their name to their adopted country, were held in great veneration, chiefly on account of the marked increase of the date crop after their arrival. The great grandson of El Ḥasan had even been offered the throne of Granáda,[1] but it was not till the power of their Sâadi cousins was broken, that local quarrels induced their then chief, Mulai es-Shareef—"My lord the Noble," *par excellence*—the eighth from El Ḥasan, to establish the independent kingdom of Tafîlált, as the country was thenceforward called.

Their rise to Power.

1634.

Having summoned the independent ruler of Sûs, one 'Ali (Abu'l Ḥasan es-Simláli) to assist him in subduing Tabusamt, that worthy made peace with the foe instead, quarrelled with the shareef, and carried him off to his castle of Ilîgh in Sûs.[2] There he remained till ransomed by his son Mohammed, who at his death was proclaimed ameer in Tafîlált, which he had recovered from the Sûsîs. The fame of Mohammed's power reaching Fez at the time when the incapable sons of Zîdán were succeeding and being murdered in turn, the Arabs of the northern kingdom sent him an invitation to become their ruler too, which he at once accepted. Although at first expelled from Fez by the Ḍilái Zawîa party[3]—followers of El 'Ayáshi, the religious leader who ruled most of the country round—Mohammed was successful in maintaining himself

The First Filáli.

1638.

1641.

1649.

[1] El Ufráni, p. 487. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 496; En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., p. 67.
[3] El Ufráni, p. 498; En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., p. 9.

in power until his brother Rasheed II. rose against him on the Algerian frontier.

This powerful general had possessed himself of the wealth of a Jew of the kaṣbah of Ibn Meshâal, near Táza, with which he had raised an army.* Having slain his brother Mohammed in battle, Rasheed wrenched from the 'Ayáshi party Táza and Fez, in which latter till then "every quarter had its chief, and every hill its crowing cock."[1] After the destruction of the Diláï Zawîa or Sanctuary, which had been 'Ayáshi's head-quarters, Rasheed marched on Marrákesh, where he put an end to the Shâbáni usurper hitherto in power. Then proceeding to Sûs to avenge his father's treatment there, the new sultan made his name resound until the English who had recently settled in Tangier learned to know him only as "The Great Tafilatta."

"The Great Tafilatta."

1664.

He it was who in his eight years' reign not only consolidated once more an Empire which was fast dissolving, but who replaced the beneficent rule of his father and brother by the inauguration of that direful epoch of bloodshed and tyranny—darkest page of any in the annals of Morocco—whereof his successor Ismâïl was at once the type and ornament. To slay with his own hand the slave who had assisted his escape from his brother's prison was his initial act, while the culmination of a reign that was an unbroken chronicle of treachery and torture was his treatment of helpless women, from whom he extorted the wealth he coveted by the indescribable barbarity of crushing their breasts beneath a box, upon the lid of which he himself jumped.[2]

Er-Rasheed II.

1664.

* It is from this incident that the "Feast of the Scribes" held yearly in Fez takes its rise. In the popular account the Jew was a "king" of Táza, which was taken from him for Rasheed by the ṭálebs or scribes. (See *The Moors*, chapter xviii.)

[1] El Ufráni, p. 501. [2] Chenier, ii., 121, 134.

A. Molinari, Photo., Tangier

PART OF MILITARY CAMP ON THE MARSHÁN, TANGIER

To face page 138

1672. His death was a worthy conclusion to such a life; he was caught by the neck in the fork of an orange tree, as in a drunken fit he madly spurred his horse in the Agudál Park at Marrákesh.[1]

Rasheed was succeeded by his brother Ismâïl, then twenty-six years of age, to the native historian known as "Prince of the Faithful, the Overcoming-in-God, Father of the Conqueror, my lord Ismâïl, son of the Noble."* The history of this remarkable man and his long reign of fifty-five years calls for special treatment, not only on account of the exceptional wealth of material, but particularly on account of the foreign relations producing that wealth. During this period, as never before or since, we are brought face to face with the internal workings of the Moorish Court. Without detailed description of what occurred, a mere list of all its horrors and its anomalous glories would appear incredible, but let the facts speak for themselves.

The Greater Ismâïl.

Although the fourth Fîláli shareef to hold sway in the Maghrib, Mulai Ismâïl was the son of Mulai es-Shareef bin 'Ali el Ḥosáïni el Fîláli. After several years of war with Aḥmad, the son of his brother Maḥaraz,[2] Ismâïl, who had been the governor of Mequinez, determined, on finding himself supreme, to make that city his head-quarters. In announcing this he sent ten thousand heads, including those of women and children slain in his rival's camp, to adorn the walls of Fez and Marrákesh, while he caused the bodies of prisoners of war to be interwoven with rushes to form a bridge whereby the victorious army might cross a river. Thus commenced the horrors of that awful reign.

1672.

Change of Capital.

"Voluptuous, covetous, passionate, treacherous, more

* "Ameer el Mû'minîn, El Mudhâfir b'Illah, Ab'ún-Náṣir, Maôlaï Ismâáïl."

1 El Ufráni, p. 503; Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 110; Pellow.

2 En-Náṣiri, l.c., pp. 22, 29, 32.

than a tyrant, he tamed the natural savageness of his subjects by showing himself still more savage than they." Such is the character painted for us by Pellow*—who for the latter half of his reign was slave and officer in his service—of Mulai Ismâïl, the last Moorish sultan to leave an indelible mark on his country, albeit a scar. Since his day eight sultans have come and gone, yet hardly any have made themselves places for good or bad in the memory of their nation.

Character.

There is in his character, nevertheless, something which commands admiration; his ferocity was but the outcome of the times in which he lived, and he was only stronger, not worse, than those around him. Notwithstanding his tyrannical behaviour and wholesale butcheries, he succeeded in making his power so thoroughly respected that public life and property were never more secure than under his rule.† Seemingly he could brook no other tyrant within his reach, and was determined to be a monopolist in villainy.

While during his life-time not a human being in

* Brown's Ed., p. 135. Quoted by de Mairault, p. 40. See also Busnot, pp. 37, 38.

† During this reign the direct routes between Fez and Marrákesh, and between Rabat and Mequinez, were in constant use, and all roads were considered safe.[1]

An English visitor wrote in 1771 that "the country flourished more under that piratical and merciless tyrant than it does under the humane and commercial, but avaricious, Mohammed."[2] "One can hardly imagine the security, abundance and calm which at this time reigned in the whole country."[3] As a specimen of his wise acts may be mentioned the giving of sixty thousand sheep to a conquered tribe, the Beni Idrásen, on condition that they should settle as shepherds, and send in the wool to the sultan.[4] In his correspondence with Louis XIV. he styled himself "Conqueror of eleven kingdoms." Colonel Scott wrote of this sovereign in 1842, deriving his information from native sources, that he "appears to have been the most enlightened of the Moorish kings or emperors, as all the public works I have seen are stated to have been built in his time."[5]

[1] Nozhat el Ḥádi and Ez-Zaïáni. [2] Jardine, p. 160.
[3] El Ufráni, p. 506. [4] Ez-Zaïáni. [5] p. 64.

Morocco failed to tremble at his name, it is strangely significant of the real tendency of Islám that Ismâïl is remembered by the Moors of to-day, not as the tyrant, but as the great and religious sultan. In his immediate circle he succeeded in inspiring a religious awe by his punctilious attendance to outward forms, and by his public prostrations on every occasion,[1] for which he had praying-places prepared throughout his

Religious Mask.

TANGIER UNDER THE ENGLISH
(1662–1684)

haunts. As his rule of life he used to have a copy of the Ḳor'án borne before him.[2] Most of his murders were committed on Fridays, as in fulfilment of divine decrees, under the influence of the other world, and the many hundreds who died by his hand were taught to believe that such a death insured admission to paradise, for which his pardon, often granted after the victim's

[1] Chenier, ii., p. 179. [2] Busnot, p. 48.

death, was held to be ample passport. Sometimes he would inquire for one he had slain the day before, and on hearing that he was dead, would ask the cause, to which the only safe reply was an assurance of ignorance equal to that of the imperial murderer, who was supposed to act unconsciously in the fulfilment of divine decrees. The bodies of his victims could not be removed without his leave, and sometimes lay about the palace till they stank.* So fond was he of shedding blood himself,[1] that he would lop off the head of his nearest attendant to try the edge of a new sword or hatchet, and when a French ambassador was in his presence he slew a number of slaves by way of amusement[2]; in reply to the envoy's remonstrances he declared, "King Louis rules men, I rule brutes." To spare his own arm an executioner always stood by his side, and a sudden drawing in of his chin, as he looked at a man, meant instant beheadal, while a turn of his wrist meant strangulation. Troublesome women in his hareem were disposed of by garrotting—to the number

Blood-thirstiness.

Methods of Execution.

I. II.

GOLD COIN OF MULAI ISMÂÏL

I. *Area.*—"There is no god but God; all rule is from God."

Margin.—"Struck in the citadel of Fás, which let God guard, in the year 1093 (1681–2)."

II. *Area.*—"God is truth: the defender of manifest truth."

Margin.—"In the name of the most merciful God. My support is from God alone; on Him do I trust, and unto Him do I turn me." (Ḳor'án, s. xiv., 88.)

* This, however, was the custom in England also at the same period, as described by Ellwood in his account of Newgate in 1661.[3]

[1] Busnot, p. 157, etc.
[2] Thomassy, pp. 133, 197.
[3] *Life*, Ed. 1714, p. 191.

of thirty on one day.* St. Olon records that during the first twenty years of his reign he was popularly credited with having by his own hand despatched to their rest no less than twenty thousand of his subjects.[1] A favourite pastime was to pin his subjects with a lance, a couple of which were always at hand, for in those days the flint-lock had not entirely superseded more primitive weapons. In his combats he was often opposed by bows and slings, while what is now called "powder-play," was still to a great extent the classical sport of the lance.[2]

These were the milder forms of his bloodshed, often accompanied by awful tortures. A unique and favourite method was "tossing," which can be best described in the words of an English eye-witness, Windus, who accompanied the embassy of Commodore Stewart in 1721,[3] to whom we are indebted for a number of important details. "The person whom the emperor orders to be thus punished is seized upon by three or four strong negroes, who, taking hold of his hams, throw him up with all their strength, and at the same time turning him round, pitch him down head foremost, at which they are so dexterous by long use that they can either break his neck the first toss, dislocate a shoulder, or let him fall with less hurt. . . . Sometimes they come off with only being severely bruised, and must not stir a limb, if able, while the emperor is in sight, under penalty of being tossed again."

"Tossing."

Other tortures in vogue were crucifixion and sawing asunder[4]—a death meted out while Stewart was in Mequinez, for no worse crime than having been detained as a pledge for another man's debt in Gibraltar, where the

* His child Zîdán, when but seven years of age, was permitted to kill a slave with his own hand.

1 p. 161. 2 Phelps (p. 8) saw him lance seven-and-twenty negroes one after another.
3 p. 91; see also Puerto, p. 685, and De la Mercy, p. 245.
4 Pellow; Windus, p. 187; Busnot, p. 94; De la Mercy, p. 158.

victim was accused of having conceived too strong a fancy for European men and women. Without a trial he was condemned to be lashed between two boards, and sawn from the head downwards till his body fell asunder.[1] Others were burnt, or dragged at a mule's tail through the streets till dead,* and one of the wazeers or ministers suffered for abuse of power in imitation of his master by that master's first breaking his arm with a pistol shot, and then having him sewn up in an ox-hide and dragged through the camp.[2] The lions in his park† were fed with slaves.‡[3] Dilatory workmen on the concrete walls of Mequinez were either thrown from the height, or toppled into the mould and rammed down.[4] One of his sons who had rebelled against him, Sidi Mohammed, was brought to the side of a cauldron of boiling pitch and fat, but ultimately his punishment was commuted to having his right hand and right foot cut off.§ The death of another, Mulai Zîdán, was achieved indirectly at his father's instigation by smothering,[5] yet the unnatural father built them mausoleums which still stand in Mequinez.‖

Tortures.

It would hardly be possible to credit these accounts of

* One of forty cats which he kept, each known by name and fed on mutton, was thus treated, and then beheaded, for taking a rabbit.[6] Once he fed his dogs with pieces cut from a living woman.[7]

† His menagerie contained lions, tigers, leopards, bears, wolves, and ostriches.[8]

‡ Seran de la Tour records that no less than sixty were one day ordered to combat his tigers under pain of being burned alive, and every one of them suffered one way or the other without delay.[9]

§ Having suspected one of his wives, he had her stuffed alive with powder and set alight.[10] He had the beard, mouth, nose, and ears of a European slave filled with gunpowder and lighted.[11]

‖ Another son, or grandson, who rebelled, fled first to Spain, and then to France, where, on November 6th, 1709, he appeared before Louis, professing Christianity as "Pierre de Jesus."[12]

1 WINDUS, pp. 156, 157; OCKLEY, p. 93. 2 EZ-ZAÏÁNI, p. 34.
3 PUERTO, p 69.; WINDUS; MOUETTE, *Hist.*, p. 317, also pref. and chap. vii.; BUSNOT, p. 59, and OCKLEY. Also French Foreign Office Papers, Corresp. Maroc, 1577–1733.
4 WINDUS. 5 CHENIER, ii., 222. 6 BUSNOT, p. 62. 7 PUERTO, p. 63.
8 BUSNOT, p. 59. 9 p. 12. 10 PUERTO, p. 67. 11 BUSNOT, p. 112. 12 See chapter xv.

Drawn by R. Caton Woodville. "POWDER-PLAY"

Mulai Ismâïl's carnage, but that in addition to the testimony quoted we have that of the ambassadors St. Amant, De la Croix, and St. Olon, of the friars De la Mercy, Juan de la Faye, San Juan, De el Puerto,[1] Busnot and Desmay, besides that of the European captives, Mouette, Phelps, Brooks and others.*

His Better Nature.

But the bloodthirsty villain had better moments, and moments, one is almost thankful to say, of remorse. A Spaniard who had attempted his life in vain was first pardoned, and after apostatising was appointed a kaid,[2] as also was one of his brothers, conquered in rebellion. It was said that the surest road to Ismâïl's fickle favour was to be thrashed and despoiled by his orders, because his surviving victims were often more than reinstated when he thought of them again. Having unintentionally killed with the butt-end of his lance a special favourite—whom he had often assured that he loved him too much ever to hurt him—he used to be heard in his gardens sadly repeating his name, and calling him back.[3] It was said at the time that the man referred to as having been sawn asunder appeared to the emperor in a dream the next night, calling on God to judge between them, in consequence of which he sent for the dust that had soaked his victim's blood, wherewith to rub himself all over as a penance.[4]

A Remarkable Character.

A stranger case than any was the ascendency over him of a Catalonian slave,[5] Maestre Juan,[6] due to the slave's good work, good temper and sincerity. To him Ismâïl swore that he would never see him without making him a present, a promise faithfully kept, even to the extent of granting him the lives

* Of these the narrative by Boyle is fictitious, and the name of the one whose record was edited by Ockley is not known.

[1] Chaps. x and xxxviii. [2] Windus. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*
[6] Juan Leonardo. De la Faye, p. 149; Puerto, p. 61.

of Christians condemned to death. It is related that when the sultan meant on no account to spare some doomed captive, he would order the palace doors to be shut, lest Maestre Juan should get wind and appear in time. One would like to know somewhat more of a man who exhibited Christian graces in such a Court, and with such effect. De el Puerto tells us[1] that he was the master of the sultan's cloth factory, that he became a renegade, but on his death-bed repented, and rushed through the streets declaring himself a Christian. For this he was condemned to be burned if he did not recant within three days, but in the interval he died.[2]

Personal Appearance.

The personal appearance of the inhuman creature to whose charge these deeds are laid is thus described towards the close of his career by Windus[3]: "He is a middle-sized man, and has the remains of a good face, with nothing of a negro's features, though his mother was a black*; he has a high nose, which is pretty long and thin. He has lost all his teeth, and breathes short, as if his lungs were bad; coughs and spits very often, which never falls to the ground, men being always ready with handkerchiefs to receive it. His beard is white and thin; his eyes seem to have been sparkling, but their vigour decayed through age, and his cheeks very much sunk in." Busnot describes him[4] as nearly black, with fiery eyes, a strong voice, and greatly given to jumping, being remarkably agile even when past middle age, and able by one action

* A curious story is told to account for his negro blood[5]; that when his father was worsted by Abu Ḥasûn, the chief of Ilîgh in Sûs, who made prisoners of himself and his wives, in response to a request for one wife back he received a very ugly old negress, and her second son was Mulai Ismâïl, who is said to have had no less than eighty-three brothers and one hundred and twenty-four sisters.

1 p. 768. 2 Ez-Zaïáni, p. 5. 3 Windus, p. 99; St. Olon, p. 64.
4 p. 37. 5 Busnot, p. 36; El Ufráni, p. 497; Ovilo, p. 182.

to mount his horse, to draw his sword, and to behead the slave who held the stirrup. Several times a day he would change his costume, suiting the colour to the mood he was in, green being his favourite, but white the most propitious, and yellow fatal.

With his wonderful lease of life and vitality, and a hareem stated to contain two thousand women,—including at least one Englishwoman *—the number of his own sons who lived to mount horse is recorded as seven hundred, that of his daughters not being known. Not that these could be in any sense considered a family, for the daughters were never allowed about the court, and only those sons whose mothers managed to retain some influence over their husband, all but the few favoured sons being despatched to Tafilált, where they have formed a shareefian clan. The sons were distinguished by wearing a great ring of gold with a big pearl, presented at birth by the Jews, who had to give the daughters silver medals[1] and the mothers razors.[2] Ez-Zaïáni records the number of sons as five hundred and twenty-eight, "and as many girls." Under the reign of Sidi Mohammed XVII. (bin Abd Allah) these occupied five hundred houses, and were in receipt of pensions which at one time it was the duty of Ez-Zaïáni to distribute. De el Puerto says[3] that in 1703 he asked one of Mulai Ismâïl's sons how many brothers he had, and after three days he produced a list of five hundred and twenty-five boys and three hundred and forty-two girls. The final total is by this writer estimated at over one

Enormous Family.

* Taken captive at the age of fifteen, and induced to turn Mohammedan by placing her feet in boiling oil.[4] Another girl named Camacha, a Spaniard, whom the emperor desired, and had already conveyed to the citadel, herself poured a pot of boiling lye over her breasts in order that he might not fancy her, and she was in consequence allowed to marry a Christian.[5]

1 Busnot, p. 54. 2 De la Fave, p. 160. 3 Book vi., chap. iii.
4 Busnot, p. 53. 5 Puerto, p. 496.

thousand. He says his successor had but three hundred

TANGIER FROM THE SAND HILLS

and fifty-four women, one for each day in the Mohammedan year. Mairault, writing soon after Ismâïl's death,

makes the total twelve hundred, and in common with other authors, quotes the register of compulsory presents made by the Jews on the occasion of each new birth.[1] Forty children were thus registered as his during three months spent at his court by a French traveller.[2] Pellow's estimate of three hundred wives[3] (at a time), by whom he had some nine hundred sons and two hundred daughters, is quite as likely to be correct, since for a long time he was a slave in the palace of Lálla Zîdána, a mulatto, and esteemed a witch.[4] She secured Ismâïl's devotion by replenishing his ḥareem,[5]* and was the most powerful of the four legal wives, as the mother of the favourite son Zîdán, the heir until he was smothered while drunk by his wives.† The sultan seldom visited the other women twice, unless they had borne him sons, but all whom he had favoured were thenceforth considered sacred.

Dealings with Women

Some of the strangest features of this man's reign were his dealings with women. There came a woman to him from the Sáḥara,[6] a sort of latter-day Queen of Sheba, whom he went out to meet with an army, but on her agreeing to place herself and her people in his hands if he could beat her at lance-play, they had a bout, with the result that she entered his ḥareem, and his army marched to her country. But quite as strange a scene must that have been when Mulai Ismâïl, having allowed the report of his death to go forth for the purpose of tempting her rebellious son from his lair, the

1690.

* One Spanish renegade was employed in making descents on the coast of Spain to procure him women, among whom he brought a Spanish countess who became the mother of Sidi Mohammed, but who afterwards had her feet burned with irons before him to extort a secret from her.

† Seven of these women were therefore forced to eat their own breasts, cut off piecemeal and placed in their mouths.[7]

[1] p. 41. [2] Seran de la Tour, p. 139.
[3] Busnot says five hundred concubines of all nationalities, p. 50; and six hundred children, p. 54. [4] Seran de la Tour, p. 17; Ockley, p. 96; St. Olon.
[5] Seran de la Tour, p. 19. [6] Brown's *Pellow*, p. 140. [7] Seran de la Tour, p. 315.

Lálla Zîdána rode forth to command in person[1]; but this was too much for Morocco, and to prevent a rising the sultan had to reappear.

Suitor for a French Princess.

Of all things possible in Moorish history, it would be difficult to imagine anything more improbable than that a sultan of Morocco should pay court to a princess of France. Yet this actually came to pass in the person of Mulai Ismâïl[2] Si 'Abd Allah bin 'Aïsà, Admiral and Envoy of Morocco at the Court of Louis XIV.,* became so impressed by the charms of Mlle. de Blois, afterwards Princesse de Conti, daughter of Louis and Mlle. de la Vallière—whom he had met at a ball at her uncle's in the Palais Royal—that he reported on her to his master.† Mulai Ismâïl thereupon commanded him to write to Pontchartrain, his friend, to ask her of the king,‡ to whom at the same time—in true Oriental style—he wrote a very friendly letter without mentioning the matter. She was to maintain her own religion, and to live in every luxury. But the French king made the difference of creed an excuse for declining the honour. Nothing could have better pleased the wits and rhymesters of the period, and even J. B. Rousseau§ entered the lists with an ode to the princess, in which were the lines :—

"Votre beauté, grande Princesse,
Porte des traits dont elle blesse
Jusqu'aux plus sauvages lieux :

* The same who met and thanked our James II. in exile, for having liberated him without a ransom, when a captured rover.

† A neat little volume of letters published in Cologne in 1700, forming a *Relation Historique de l'Amour de l'Empereur du Maroc, par M. le Comte DXXXX.*, makes out that a certain French captive having described the lady to the sultan, he came over himself disguised in the train of his ambassador—evidently a fable based on the story of Peter the Great.

‡ This letter is given by Thomassy, *La Question d'Orient*, p. 16. That addressed to Louis only asked for architects and coats of mail.

§ Who was ultimately banished for his bitter political couplets.

1 Seran de la Tour, p. 131 ; Busnot, p. 117 ; and Chenier, ii., p. 221.

2 Thomassy, p. 171.

L'Afrique avec vous capitule,
Et les conquêtes de vos yeux
Vont plus loin que celles d'Hercule."

Perigny asked, with witty sarcasm :—

"Pourquoi refusez-vous l'homage glorieux
D'un roi qui vous attend, et qui vous croira belle?
Puisque l'Hymen à Maroc vous appelle,
Partez, c'est peut-être dans ces lieux
Qu'il vous garde un amant fidèle."

Other verses called forth by the incident would be too long to quote, but here is the first of a set of ten, from a volume of them which was published,[1] showing that the affair was looked upon then in much the same light as it would be now :—

"Que me demandez-vous, superb Tingitane?
Osez-vous y penser?
La fille de Louis, jusqu'au rang de sultane
Peut elle s'abaisser?"

This was only one instance of many in which Mulai Ismâïl entered into friendly relations with European rulers. By all such relations, whether friendly or hostile, Mulai Ismâïl impressed upon his subjects with what awe he was regarded abroad, an impression deepened by the presence of so many Christian captives, whose respective governments were either too weak or too indifferent to rescue them.*

Relations with Europe.

When he succeeded his brother, Portugal still held Mazagan, and Spain was secure in Laraiche, Mâmôra Ceuta and Peñon de Velez, while the English had been ten years in Tangier. Nevertheless, when Lord Belassize, the governor, sent Lord

European Possessions.

1672.

* "The king of Portugal, the prince of Darmstadt, minister of the archduke, the admiral of Castille, his partisan, even implored help from the king of Morocco. Not only did they enter into treaties with this barbarian

[1] *Relation Historique de l'Amour de l'Empereur du Maroc*, Cologne, 1700.

Howard to the sultan in Mequinez, he was not received,[1] and three years later, when all requests had been granted to the English envoy, everything was cancelled on the excuse that a ragged saint objected.[2]

1675.

Cavilla, Photo., Tangier

TANGIER FROM THE RUINS OF THE ENGLISH MOLE

In the ninth year of his reign the Moors captured the English outpost of Fort Charles on the Marshán, as well as several minor positions, and the next year they besieged and took the Spanish station of Mâmôra. Three years afterwards the English, wearied by the lawlessness and jobbery of their own officials, and by the increased activity of the Moors, abandoned Tangier, destroying its harbour and fortifications.[3] Of the garrison here,

1680.

1681.

1684

British Evacuation of Tangier.

to obtain horses and wheat, but they asked for troops. The emperor of Morocco, Mulai Ismâïl, the most warlike and politic tyrant of that time among the Mohammedan nations, would not send his troops unless under conditions dangerous for Christianity and shameful for the king of Portugal: he demanded as surety a son of that king and certain towns. The treaty did not take place. The Christians rent each other with their own hands without introducing those of the barbarians."—VOLTAIRE, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, chap. xviii. (1703).

1 THOMASSY, p. 127. 2 CHENIER, ii., p. 160.

3 See *The Land of the Moors*, chap. v

abandoned to the offscourings of the Stuart Court and "Kirke his Lambs," Macaulay has well remarked, "a more miserable situation could hardly be conceived: it was difficult to say whether the unfortunate settlers were more tormented by the heats or by the rains, by the soldiers within the walls, or the Moors without"*

A Political Blunder

From a political point of view the evacuation came at a very bad time. Because the English were believed to have gone "out of sheer fright,"[1] it was known as Ismâïl's most glorious victory, and thereby his hands were greatly strengthened against all the world. An opportunity was thus lost of driving a bargain in treaties, which should have set matters on an entirely fresh basis.

The Moorish Point of View.

What wonder that Ismâïl's first act at an audience was to prostrate himself, and loudly thank God for bringing the kings of the Earth to his feet, or that he declared Spain to be committed to the care of women, and described the king of England as an old woman, a slave to his Parliament?[2] In his estimation the king of France—as the descendant of kings since the time when Heraclius had sought help of the Franks against the Muslims†—was the only ruler worthy the name, and Louis XIV. in his single-handed struggle against Europe, seemed to be his particular admiration. Nevertheless, he did not say much more to his unsuccessful envoy, St. Amant, than is still

1683.

* *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1843. Essay on the Life of Joseph Addison, whose father was a chaplain here, and wrote two books on this country.

† In 1210 the king of Bayonne sent to the ameer, Mohammed III. (En-Náṣir), a letter written by Mohammed to Heraclius, the emperor at Constantinople, 600 years before,[3] but Mulai Ismâïl now applied for it to Louis, who had it sought for in vain.[4]

[1] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 38; El Ufráni, p. 506; En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., p. 33.
[2] *Voyage de St. Amant*, p. 108: St. Olon, p. 67.
[3] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás. [4] Thomassy, p. 166.

said in turn to each ambassador, and with the exception that, unlike some of his successors, he always bade the envoy be covered,[1] the manner of reception has hardly altered from that time.*

1689. After taking Laraiche from the Spaniards with French assistance, Ismâïl made preparations for a most determined attempt upon Ceuta. For twenty-six years he besieged that fortress, until Felipe V. broke up his camp, which had at first held forty thousand, and later ten thousand men, in houses and huts. Even then Ismâïl did not altogether abandon the attack, and after his death the nucleus remained a camp of observation.†

Great Siege of Ceuta. 1694–1720.

The hereditary soldiers trained for these operations soon became a terror in the land, as they still are in one sense to-day, for they have never yet learned to earn an honest living, and are brought up to inherit any posts in which there is someone to rob, whether as wazeer or policeman. None make worse masters or better servants, but learning is not their forte. Collecting all the blacks throughout his dominions, and importing numbers from the Ṣûdán, Ismâïl established great camps, wherein they increased and multiplied under his direct supervision.‡ It was chiefly by the aid of this

The Hereditary Black Troops.

* See chapter xvii.

† "One of the principal titles to glory of this reign is having cleansed the Maghrib of the defilement of the infidels, and having put an end to their aggressions."[2]

‡ Every year Mulai Ismâïl went to inspect them himself, and brought away all children of ten, the girls to learn washing, cooking, and house-keeping in the palace, the boys for arms. In their first year the latter were apprenticed to craftsmen, the second they learned to ride mules, the third to make and ram concrete, the fourth to ride horses bare-back, the fifth horsemanship with saddles and shooting. At sixteen they were married and enrolled in the army.[3] In 1697, by a special edict, the right of holding real estate was conferred upon them.

1 St. Olon; Windus, p. 95. 2 El Ufráni, p 506.
3 Zaïáni, p. 29; En-Náṣiri, l.c., pp. 26, 33, 42.

standing army, with no local sympathies, and all to gain from their master's success, that Mulai Ismâïl held his own —and more—so long. After Ismâïl's death, at which time they were said to number a hundred thousand,[1] they set up and pulled down kings according to pay received, and, had they found a leader of their own, they would doubtless have established a dynasty, but when their power waned the bulk of them were deported to various parts of the country by Sidi Mohammed XVII.

British prestige in Morocco was restored by the presence of so many British vessels in Moorish waters during the great siege of Gibraltar, and rose still higher when, in exchange for the provisions needed by their garrison, the English furnished arms and munitions wherewith Ismâïl could besiege Ceuta.* These were the circumstances under which a British envoy secured the release of three hundred and one English slaves, including no less than twenty-five captains, in exchange for Moorish prisoners and "a reasonable quantity" of powder, specially made gun-locks, sulphur, and cloth.

Capture of Gibraltar.

1704.

1721.

On this occasion, also, was secured, for the first time, the recognition by treaty of the right of foreign protection for foreign subjects and their interests in Morocco. This was, and still is, indispensable for the continuance of trade in the face of the abuses of the native Government.† But it is worthy of observation that the success of this embassy depended, first, on the support of two Jews, and then on the favour of one of the queens, to whom the envoy had to appeal with presents.[2] How strange would such proceedings seem to-day!

Rights of Foreigners.

1721.

* To Ismâïl's refusal to supply the British with building materials for Gibraltar, unless full liberty to trade there were granted to his subjects, Gibraltar owes its free port, the source of any wealth the town possesses.

† See chapter xix.

[1] Zaïáni, p. 29; En-Náṣiri, l.c., pp. 26, 33, 42. [2] Windus, pp. 5, 6, 10, 95, 117.

Jewish Support.

The Jews in question, two rivals, Maïmarán and Bin 'Aṭṭár, appear to have owed their influence originally to loans made to Mulai Ismâïl, which helped to secure the throne. Maïmarán's father, Yûsef, bore to Mulai Ismâïl the first news of his brother's death, and furnished funds for the troops, but when he pressed for payment a slave was told off to dispose of him, which he accomplished by permitting a restive horse to trample him to death. Maïmarán, however, on complaining to the sultan, obtained the lucrative post of chief collector of the Jewish tax, and comptroller of the household.[1] Yet in spite of their positions — the first-named as Governor of the Jews, and the second as the virtual foreign minister, a signatory of the articles of peace, with the power of life and death in his hand,—they were never allowed to ride on horse-back, and were probably subject to all the restrictions and indignities of which their people are victims still in Morocco.

A BOKHARI KAID OF THE BLACK TROOPS

1 Busnot, p. 17.

The only man who seems to have been able to restrain Ismâïl in any measure was his old and well-tried minister, Kaid 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah, who alone spoke plainly to him and refused to fall down in his presence. Yet even he could only maintain his position by annual presents, which consisted of thirty or forty mules and their loads of fine cloths, besides camels, and forty or fifty quintals (cwts.) of silver.[1] He had, moreover, a powerful rival in Kaid Mohammed Haddû bin 'Aṭṭár, who at one time was ambassador to England.[2]

A Faithful Servitor.

It is somewhat curious to note that the kaid of the Jewry in Mequinez at the time of the treaty ensuring the rights of foreigners, was an English renegade of the name of Carr.[3] This is doubly interesting, as indicative of the fact that an additional source of Ismâïl's strength lay in the large bands of European renegades who carried out his will. Pellow, for instance, was for several years in command of half a regiment of six hundred foreigners, whose head-quarters were at Zettát and Tamsna, in Sháwîa. The Moorish corsairs constantly reinforced his supply of white slaves, whose only hope of liberty rested in their apostatising, or in their being ransomed by ambassadors or friars who came with funds collected for the purpose.* The price for redemption varied with the awe inspired by the respective nations, concerning whom the Moors appear to have known more than they do at this day. In imitation, it is said, of Louis XIV., Ismâïl bought up all the European slaves for himself, as he had previously purchased the blacks. The captors of Pellow and his party received £10 a head, delivered in Mequinez, but eventually all captives were considered

The Foreign Legion.

Christian Slaves.

1715.

* It was at this time that the Spaniards established a friary in Mequinez, which was virtually a hospital. See chapter xiv.

[1] Busnot, pp. 208, 210. [2] St. Olon, p. 123. [3] Windus, p. 185.

as the sultan's due. From time to time, like Pellow, such unfortunates made their escape, and to their intimate acquaintance with everything Moorish we are indebted for much that we know of the period. Many, however, settled down without hope, and finally ceased to attempt to escape. Those who once professed Islám could never be redeemed. In their own eyes, the Moors but waged an inherited warfare with all the world which had neither accepted Mohammed nor consented to pay his followers tribute. Yet at the same time merchantmen bound for Morocco were free, and foreign merchants resided in Salli and Tetuan, where France, at least, had consuls.[1]

Renegades.

With the unhappy lot of the captives* this is not the place to deal, but it may be mentioned that for the most part they were employed on the sultan's interminable buildings in and around Mequinez.[2] That he was possessed by a mania for building is proved by the ample results still remaining, although, when some new caprice seized him, he demolished with a like energy.[3] Instead of paying for material and labour, he levied the one and forced the other. Ez-Zaïáni gives the total of European captives employed at one time as two thousand five hundred, besides thirty thousand native prisoners, who probably represented the labour each tribe had to supply. The same author mentions the number of ḳaṣbahs or strongholds built by Ismâïl as sixty-six. At one time he went so far as to project a wall to Tádla. His famous stables, of which portions still exist, were three miles long, and accommodated twelve thousand horses, every ten in the charge of one black eunuch.[4]

Building Mania.

Ismâïl's daily practice after morning prayers was to take

* Fully treated of in chapter xiv.

1 St. Amant, p. 66.
2 En-Náṣiri, l.c., pp. 23, 25.
3 Busnot, p. 162.
4 Ez-Zaïáni, p. 28.

His Morning Constitutional.

a constitutional around his works, here and there using a rammer himself, while every face turned towards him,[1] and anon killing a man to keep the rest busy.[2] His workmen, he said, were like rats in a bag, which he must perforce keep shaking lest they should gnaw their way out.[3] Sitting on a corner of a wall, he would receive ambassadors, and his versatile genius enabled him not only to be his own general, but also to attend personally to the smallest details of his household.[4] Thirty thousand men and ten thousand mules are said to have been employed at one time on the palace he raised at Mequinez, a pile which is to-day his greatest monument, although his body lies in a solid building which he had erected for this purpose hard by the Ḳûbba Mâjûb. The moment it became known that disease and old age had put an end to his career—he was eighty-one—the last touch had been given to his works, and I have traced across the plain from Mequinez to Ḳaṣar Faráôn or Volubilis the irregular series of huge hewn stones which his slaves were so laboriously bringing from the Roman ruins when the joyful news passed along their line. The Arabs, says En-Náṣiri, refused at first to credit his death, for they believed the old man had attained the secret of continuous life.[5]

Death. 1727.

From Two Points of View.

In the words of Chenier: "Active, enterprising and politic, this emperor tarnished the glory of his reign by avarice, duplicity, oppression, injustice and continuous barbarities, the relation of which would be dreadful, and the remembrance of which time only can efface. . . . Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, were abhorrent villains; yet Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, themselves were unequal to the fiend of whose acts I give but a partial account."[6] In the words

[1] Puerto, p. 72. [2] Windus, p. 132. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[4] Mouette, p. 151. [5] En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., p. 47. [6] Vol. ii., pp. 224, 226.

of Pellow, or his editor: "An excessive cruelty, a great capacity, and a perfect knowledge of the genius and temper of his people preserved the throne to this emperor for so long a space of time as fifty-five years, and death alone took it from him." Yet of such a monster a contemporary native historian[1] could quote with approval lines by a "learned friend" to this effect:—

"O Mulai Ismâïl, O Sun of the Earth!
O thou for whom all created beings would not suffice as a ransom!
Thou art none other than the sword of victory which God has drawn from its sheath, to set thee alone among the khalîfas.
As for him who knows not to obey thee, it is that God has blinded him, and that his steps have wandered far from where they ought to be."

The seal of this remarkable man bore this inscription:—"God earnestly desires to cleanse thee from stains, O thou who art of the house of the prophet, and to purify thee."[2] One can only quote the native writers in remarking "God knows to whom He confides His tasks." Without an understanding of the Moorish Empire as Ismâïl left it, it would be impossible to understand Morocco as it is.

1 El Ufráni. 2 Thomassy, p. 88.

SEAL OF MULAI ISMAIL
(From Ockley)

ON THE MARKET, TETUAN

CHAPTER THE NINTH

THE REIGNING SHAREEFS

(FÎLÁLI PERIOD—*continued*)

1727–1894

NO sooner was the strong, hard hand of the tyrant Ismâïl at rest, than anarchy, and horrors worse even than he had committed, again prevailed. The very forces which under his iron rule had served to control the country now disseminated discord, and the troops which had enforced his will, maintaining order, now produced dissension and promoted strife. For twenty years his black guards nominated, overthrew and set up as sultan whom they would, using as their puppets no fewer than seven of Ismâïl's sons.

Outburst of Anarchy.

Three days before the tyrant's death, he had summoned from Tádla one of his sons, named Ahmad VII., surnamed like the last of that name to rule the Maghrib, Ed-Dháhebi—"The Golden"—who on his father's decease was at once proclaimed. But the burst of relief which greeted this news was too strong for the novice—who was, moreover, a drunkard[1]—and on every hand the Berbers commenced depredations, while the Udáïá—one of the hereditary soldier tribes—pillaged Fez; and in Tetuan the Kaid of the Rîf commenced a treasonable correspondence with the Tunisian Ḥafṣîs.[2] In the expressive language of a native writer,[3]

Ahmad VII. (*Ed-Dháhebi II.*) 1727.

[1] MAIRAULT, p. 79. [2] EN-NÁṢIRI, vol. iv., p. 55. [3] EZ ZAÏÁNI, p. 56.

with an Arab proverb in mind, "the hot wind returned to its usual task, when released from confinement in vessels of copper."*

Next year, therefore, the army at Meshrâ er-Ramla quietly put Ahmad in prison,[1] and set up in his stead his
1728. brother, 'Abd el Málek III., who was fetched from Tarudant. But he was not found liberal enough in satisfying their demands, and was promptly forced to take refuge in the shrine of Mulai Idrees at Fez.[2] That city was straightway besieged by Ahmad,[3]—who had been restored
1728. to power—until 'Abd el-Malek was delivered up and strangled, though the victor only survived him a few days.†[4]

'Abd Allah V. (El Mortaḍà, *i.e.*, "Acceptable"), third son of Ismâïl, was thereupon proclaimed by the blacks, but perceiving that they caused no little danger to himself and the state, he directed all his energies to their destruction. He found, moreover, a foe in Spain, and, although assisted by the renegade Ripperda, once the Spanish Premier,‡ he suffered
1732. defeat near Ceuta, and again at Oran.§

Reigns of 'Abd Allah V. 1729.

Meanwhile 'Abd Allah's grievous oppression of the people drove those of Fez to the hills to escape his extortions,[5] until at last they made common cause with the blacks, forced 'Abd Allah to flee to Wád Nûn, and
1734. proclaimed another brother, 'Ali VI.[6] (El Aâraj, "the Lame.") He gave scant satisfaction, and 'Abd Allah

* The most readable account of the events of the next few years is given by Pellow, p. 147 *et seq.*, in Brown's edition. Pellow and Ez-Zaïáni most fully confirm one another.

† Poisoned, says Pellow, by 'Abd Allah's mother, p. 183.

‡ For the story of Ripperda see chapter xii.

§ Because a letter from an English merchant at Tetuan, asking for payment for munitions supplied, was found upon the battle-field, the Spaniards vainly endeavoured to prove that the English had supported the Moors.

[1] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 58. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 59. [3] Pellow, p. 161; En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., p. 58.
[4] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 63. [5] En-Náṣiri, vol. iv., pp. 61, 62. [6] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 74.

1736. was recalled to Mequinez. But, mindful of his former extortions, Fez objected to his re-instatement, forced him to abdicate,[1] and proclaimed a fifth brother, Mohammed XVI. (oold Er-Reeba). His authority, however, was short-lived, for the black guards procured his death,
1738. and sent forthwith to Tafîlált for another, El

Molinari, Photo., Tangier

GATE OF MANSUR THE RENEGADE, MEQUINEZ (built in 1732)

1740. Mustádà, who after a year's trial was deposed in favour of 'Abd Allah.

Five years passed, and another experiment was made
1745. with yet another son of Ismâ'îl, Zeen el 'Abdîn, but as this change also was unsuccessful, 'Abd Allah for the fourth time* took the reins of government. The

* En-Náṣiri makes this the *third* innings only.[2]

[1] En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 78. [2] p. 71.

The Black Troops Supreme.

deewán, or council of the blacks, which had become the actual centre of power, determined
1746. to restore El Mustádà, who still lived in Marrákesh, and he entered Fez in triumph. Yet once again he was deposed, and 'Abd Allah restored, for the question of supremacy lay for decision between Mequinez and Fez, which respectively sided with 'Abd Allah and his brothers, while Marrákesh was left somewhat out of the reckoning. By this time the whole country was in a state of anarchy, and full of brigands; even in Fez the people could not be restrained, but sacked the imperial stores of Ismâ'îl,[1] in consequence of which the Fásîs had to sustain a siege of twenty-seven months.

'Abd Allah had inherited his father's blood-thirsty instincts. On one occasion an English witness saw 335
1746. rebels beheaded at once, the sultan striking off the first head at a blow, and their bodies were left about the field unburied.[2] At one time he is stated to have put to death as many as 2000 of his subjects in one week.[3] Pellow's description shows that he and his brothers well deserved their fate. To avert it 'Abd Allah made
1747. an offering of twenty-three Ḳor'áns in gold cases studded with rubies and 2700 precious stones, to the tomb of Mohammed at Madîna.[4] The all-powerful deewán
1750. of the blacks was now removed from Meshrâ er-Ramla to Mequinez, where 'Abd Allah's only surviving son, Mohammed, was proclaimed,[5] but he refused to supplant his father, who was therefore set up a sixth and
1757. last time, this reign ending with his life, thirty years from his first accession.

At length the royal umbrella shaded a good and wise sultan, this same son of 'Abd Allah, now Mohammed XVII.,[6]

[1] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 113. [2] Troughton, p. 36. [3] Godard, p. 547.
[4] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 94. [5] En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 84. [6] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 127.

Sidi Mohammed *bin Abd Allah.* 1757–1790.

previously governor of Saffi. He ruled Morocco for thirty-three years, during which it breathed again.* His first step was to scatter the Udáïa, and garrison Fez with the blacks, whom he again brought under subjection.[1] Right and left oppressive governors were destituted and imprisoned; cities were re-fortified; Salli and Rabat—which by this time owned but one vessel between them—had their independence for ever crushed, and were provided with port buildings. At 1760. the same time Mogador and Fedála were built, and Salli and Laraiche were unsuccessfully attacked by the French. In order to increase opportunities for reading, the contents of Ismâïl's library, 12,000 volumes, were distributed among the chief mosques of the Empire, where once again schools commenced to flourish.[2] More friendly relations were entered into with Europe,† and also 1767. with Turkey,‡ whence Muṣṭafà III. sent a ship-load of cannon, mortars, bombs and shot.[3] These were 1768. employed next year for the recovery of Mazagan from the Portuguese. The Spanish fortress of Melilla was 1771. then besieged, but on Carlos III. producing a treaty which provided for peace on land and sea, the

* Yet the highest praise which Jardine could bestow upon him at the time, was that he would make a good lieutenant of police, permitting no robbers but himself.

† During this reign treaties with England were signed in 1760 and 1783; with France in 1767, with Spain in 1767, 1780, and 1785; with Denmark in 1767, with Tuscany in 1778; and with the United States of America in 1787. The important works of Chenier and Höst were written by the French and Danish consuls of this period. Moorish embassies were sent to London, Vienna, Paris, Lisbon, Madrid, the Hague, and Malta.

‡ The historian Ez-Zaïáni was ambassador to Turkey in 1786, and was so much appreciated there that Abd el Ḥameed asked for him always to be sent. On his return he was successively created governor of Táza and Tafilált, but El Yazeed had him thrashed and put in prison as an intriguer.

1 En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 96. 2 Ez-Zaïáni, and En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 98.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 143; En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 104, who tells also of a treaty wi h "the sultan of Holy Mekka."

Moorish envoy who had signed it was disgraced.* Mohammed undertook to withdraw his forces if the Spaniards would convey his ammunition and stores by sea to Tangier and Mogador, to which they agreed, and the land had rest.[1]

But this did not suit the army, and the black guards having attempted to play their old game in Mequinez, the sultan sent his son El Yazeed to quell them. This proved a mistaken move, for the rebels easily persuaded El Yazeed to let them proclaim him as sultan, and it was with difficulty that his

El Yazeed's *Rebellion.* 1775.

COPPER COIN OF MOHAMMED XVII.
I. "Struck at Ribát el Fatih."
II. "The One is one. 1189" (1775).

father overcame them with Udáïá and Berber troops. El Yazeed fled to sanctuary at Zarhôn, and obtained a pardon on the intercession of the local shareef; but the blacks were dispersed about the country as garrisons, with the result that subsequent insurrections remained unquelled. In addition to this, there came terrible years of drought and famine, during which the sultan made great efforts to relieve the people, granting large

1776 and 1782.

* This was El Ghazzûli, whose account of his mission, in Arabic MS., is to be found in the Spanish National Library. See Catalogue by Guillén Robles Art. 605, p. 250.

[1] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 145.

sums of money—nominally lent, in order to control their distribution.

Nevertheless, dissatisfaction flourished, finding a leader in a mahdi known as Háj el Yammûri, who met with great acceptance among the Berbers,[1] but after a pillaging expedition his partisans were routed by the sultan. Trouble was still anticipated from El Yazeed, who, having been permitted to make the Mekka pilgrimage, robbed his father's envoy of the presents he was bearing, to a shareef who had married his sister.[2] For this he was disowned and cursed by his father, but ventured to return three years later and take refuge in the sanctuary of Mulai 'Abd es-Salám, near Tetuan, where he commenced to plot another rebellion. His father was on his way to attack him when his end came, and Morocco was launched on a career of bloodshed equalling, if not exceeding, that under Mulai Ismâïl, though happily brief in duration.*

Troublous Times. 1783. 1790.

It has repeatedly been stated, till the assertion has become regarded as fact, that the tyrant at whose door this bloodshed lay, Mulai el Yazeed, was the son of either an English or an Irish woman, widow of a sergeant of sappers and miners engaged in Fez,† but the authority on which this story rests is almost altogether legendary. Ségur, the adventurer responsible for an anonymous contemporary record of this reign, who wrote from intimate personal knowledge, declares, on the other hand, that El Yazeed's

El Yazeed *the Blood-thirsty.* 1790–1792.

* Consul Matra recorded a message sent to Yazeed by his brother 'Abd er-Raḥmán, "I have heard of my father's death; that you have left your sanctuary, call yourself emperor, and are spending my father's money like a fool. Rat, return to your hole, or, if you be a man, meet me at Marrákesh, for you should know that Fez is not the place for an emperor."[3]

† *e.g.*, Hay, p. 117. Lemprière says that it was his grandmother who was English, and Lemprière was a contemporary employed at the Court the year before El Yazeed's accession.

[1] En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 105. [2] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 152. [3] F. O. Docs., "Morocco," vol. xvii.

mother was a Hessian slave named Sagitta.[1] Be that as it may, the wretch who now succeeded always showed marked favour to the English—whom alone he excluded from a general declaration of war on his accession—exhibiting as marked a hatred for the Spaniards. He nailed the hand of his father's wazeer, who had been favourable to them, on the door of their consulate at Tangier, along with the heads of two more high officials. The other hand of the wazeer was sent to Oojda, and his head was posted on the Spanish convent at Mequinez, which was pillaged.* The natural result was a war with Spain, the Spanish consul and envoy wisely making their escape by subterfuge before hostilities broke out.† El Yazeed's one dream was to recover Ceuta, and for this he relied on the help of the English, then apparently on the eve of war with Spain. To secure this he "gave" Laraiche to the English, but the offer was not accepted.‡

Principle and Practice.

According to El Yazeed's own expression, his principle was that a Moorish sultan should keep a continuous stream of blood from the palace gate to the city, that the people might live in awe.[2]

* The Jewish vice-consul at Mequinez was strung up like a sheep at the Báb Manṣûr el Alj, by holes through his heels. Yâḳûb ben Aṭṭar, his father's right-hand Jew, was quartered alive and burned.[3]

† The Spanish vessels slipped anchor while the consul and others were on board as for a visit, having landed dummy presents, which greatly exasperated the Moors when their nature was discovered. The vice-consuls at Laraiche and Mogador complained that they and their families had been deserted.[4]

‡ The only assistance that the crafty tyrant received from that quarter was the loan of Lieutenant-Colonel Jardine, or rather the permission granted to him to enter the Moorish service to assist in the projected siege of Ceuta. Some Hanoverian deserters who had "turned Moor" were delivered naked and shaven to the British consul by the sultan's orders, and were sent to Gibraltar. Flour was offered by the Moors for gunpowder.[5]

[1] p. 6. [2] Hay, p. 117.

[3] A full account of these doings is given in the British Consular Correspondence from Tangier, preserved in the Record Office, "Morocco," vol. xvii., No. 18. See also Lemprière, for details. [4] F. O. Docs., vol. xvii., No. 24. [5] F. O. Docs., vol. xvii.

His first act was to make over the principal Jewries of the Empire to plunder, that his savage black troops might be satisfied, and some of the Jewish women were burned alive. With his own hand he shot the báshá of Tangier twice, had his ears cut off, and his skull split. The breasts of the báshá's wives were squeezed in presses, and his mother was suspended for two days over a slow fire, with screws on her head.[1] The báshá and ráïs of Laraiche, old men of eighty or more, had their beards pulled out by the roots.[2] The ḳáḍi of Marrákesh, for having justly pronounced the deposition of this monster, was flayed alive, his limbs were amputated, and he was beheaded. The worst of El Yazeed's atrocities will not bear recording. His reign was cut short after twenty-two months, while fighting his subjects, who had risen against him under rival brothers.[3]*

Reign of **El Hisham.** **1792-1795.**

One of these, Mulai Hishám, was at once proclaimed at Marrákesh, but other brothers were proclaimed elsewhere; Moslema in the northern half of the kingdom of Fez, Sulaïmán II. in the southern half of that kingdom, and 'Abd er-Raḥmán in Tafílált, while part of Sûs set up the son of Sidi Ahmad oo Mûsá. After a struggle of three years' duration, Sulaïmán overcame his brothers, forced Hishám to abdicate, and reunited the Empire.† In him Morocco

* His character is boldly sketched in a cypher despatch to our Foreign Office, now in the Public Record Office, "Morocco," vol. xvii., No. 25.

† A curious manifesto issued by Mohammed ben 'Othmán, wazeer of Mulai Sulaïmán, on his accession, purporting to be couched in the sultan's own words, describes how he had retired to Tafílált for quietness, but having been summoned to the throne by the army and the people on account of his love of peace and justice, he was determined to maintain this character, both in his home administration and foreign relations.[4] Mulai Sulaïmán was said by his subjects to be so mild and humane in his character that "he was fitter for heaven than Morocco."[5]

1 Ségur, p. 75. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 90. 3 Ez-Zaïáni and En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 129.
4 B. Mus., 9180, dd 5–5. 5 Brooke, vol. i., p. 359.

was as fortunate as in Mohammed XVII.[1] To this sultan is due the honour of having abolished Moorish piracy, of which the death-blow had been struck by his father's many treaties with the foreigners. But from one cause or another, intercourse with Europe grew restricted, and we know much less of the internal affairs of Morocco at this time than at the time when Christian slaves were abundant, and the interest abroad was correspondingly great.* The Moors appear to have desired complete isolation from Christendom, a policy which has continued to the present day. Moors and Jews were forbidden to leave the country without permission and guarantees, and the sultan set the example of doing, as far as possible, without the luxuries of Europe.

Reign of **Sulaïmán.** 1795-1822.

On two occasions during this reign the population was decimated by the plague, as previously in the time of Sulaïmán's father. The resulting famines led, as usual, to civil war, and in addition to a serious Berber rising in the Atlas, the sons of El Yazeed, Ibráhîm and Sâïd, successively raised their standards against their uncle. With the support of the famous Sidi el 'Arbi, shareef of Wazzán, they became the masters of the northern kingdom until, just before his death, Sulaïmán reasserted his authority. From Tunis there came an embassy, sent by Hamûda Báshá ibn 'Ali Báï (Bey), and more interesting still, a letter from "the Lord of the Ḥajáz in the Arabian Peninsula, 'Abd Allah bin Sâood the Wahábi, conqueror of evildoers"[2]—the great contemporary reformer of Islám, who counted

1799 and 1818. 1786.

Internal Troubles. 1821. 1822.

* It is true that the valuable works of Jackson, "Ali Bey," Dombay, and Schusboe appeared during this reign, but they are all the works of distinct "outsiders," quite out of touch with the national life, and with the exception of Badia y Leblich ("Ali Bey") altogether ignore native thought and feeling.

[1] Ez-Zaiáni. [2] En-Náṣiri, l.c., p. 144.

many sympathisers in the Maghrib, where the need of a reformation was by no means so great as in the East. Sulaïmán's last act was to secure the reversion of the throne to a son of El Hishám, 'Abd er-Raḥmán II., who had been a customs administrator at Mogador. The chief exploit of his reign was the recovery of Oojda.

'Abd er-Rahmán II. 1822-1859

Pacific, frugal, and fond of trade, 'Abd er-Raḥmán probably owed his selection in preference to the late sultan's sons, to the well-placed belief that he would maintain a policy similar to that of Sulaïmán. The first years of his rule were marked by the usual local revolts, which were satisfactorily quelled.[1] Amicable intercourse was entered into with other governments, and, as far as Europe was concerned, a state of calm succeeded to the uncertain relations of the previous century. But by reason of the hard-dying rovers this was not to last, and first with England, then with Spain and Austria, there seemed a likelihood of war, or at least of reprisals. The Austrians[2] did indeed bombard some of the Moorish ports, and, although unsuccessful in their attacks, obtained the settlement of their claims. A rising of the Udáïá section of the imperial guard resulted in the proclamation of a republic in Fez, which withstood a siege of more than a year, until 30,000 Udáïá had been routed between Fez and Mequinez by 100,000 royalists. When finally subdued, the rebel troops were dispersed throughout the Empire, which they have not since molested.*

1828.

1829.

War with France. 1830.

The event of the reign had yet to come, resulting from the struggle of the French with the Algerians. 'Abd er-Raḥmán thought at first to share the spoil, and made a vain attempt on Tlemçen,[3] but

* See chapter x.

1 En-Náṣiri, pp. 173–176.

2 Called by En-Náṣiri the "Napriál (*i.e.* Imperial) Nation" (p. 183).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

1832. was forced to sign a treaty renouncing, not only all claims on Tlemçen, but also all negotiations with the prince of the Algerians, the famous 'Abd el Ḳáder. Correspondence seized by France conclusively proved the disregard of the latter part of this bond;* but when, driven 1842. to desperation, 'Abd el Ḳáder fled to Morocco for shelter, it was at first refused. Therefore when, two 1844. years later, he crossed the border with booty, an excuse was given to the French to seize upon Oojda.[1] 'Abd er-Raḥmán thereupon collected an army and marched to regain the Moorish frontier town. War was declared, and after several skirmishes, it was decided against the Moors at the battle of Isly.† Tangier and 1844. Mogador had been bombarded already, the latter almost destroyed.[2] The island there was held by the French, but the town was sacked by the surrounding tribesmen, and so general was the exodus of the inhabitants, that when peace was restored there was no one left to receive the official notification.

Among the terms of the treaty of peace[3] were the stipulations that no more help should be rendered to 'Abd el Ḳáder, and that in Oojda, the nearest town to Lallah Maghnîa, no more than 2000 soldiers should ever be congregated. A commission was appointed to define the frontier, which in many parts they did so vaguely that occasion has always remained for demands for its "rectification." One blunder which the French made then, and have greatly regretted, was the recognition of the Moorish suzerainty in Tûát, an

The Algerian Frontier.

1845.

* The sultan caused the tongue of Si Mohammed bin Drees, his wazeer, to be pulled out, for breaking his promise not to correspond with 'Abd el Ḳáder.[4]

† See note appended to this chapter.

[1] En-Náṣiri, p. 195.

[2] A general account of this "war" was published the same year in Paris, *Tableau de la guerre . . . dans l'empire du Maroc*, with plans and views. (Bibl. Art. 672.)

[3] Martens, *Nouv. Rec. de Traités*, t. viii., p. 143. [4] *Hay's Life*, p. 72.

oasis which they have since coveted, as lying on the way to Timbuctoo. At last, hounded from Morocco, 'Abd el Ḳáder
1847. was compelled to yield to France, and was exiled to Damascus. But the feeling of the Moorish populace was such that 'Abd er-Raḥmán feared a general rising, and conveyed his treasures to Tafilált, though ere long things quieted down.

The French, however, still had claims to settle, and

STREET SCENE IN TANGIER

when these had accumulated they bombarded Salli, while Rabat remained neutral: they of course obtained their ends. Some time afterwards the Prince
French and Prussian Claims. 1851. of Prussia had a dispute with the Rif tribes, among whom he had rashly attempted to land, and another indemnity had to be paid. By this time

piracy had ceased to be, and foreign Powers no longer paid their tribute for exemption from the rovers; treaties were being drawn up on a different footing, and Morocco was falling into its rightful place.

On the death of 'Abd er-Raḥmán, after a thirty-seven years' reign, he was succeeded by his son, Mohammed XVIII., whom he had wisely nominated. Notwithstanding the high command with which he had been entrusted by his father, the newcomer had to fight with serious rivals,[1] and had barely secured his position when a war broke out with Spain. Already, during his father's last months, the usual list of claims and complaints from Madrid had grown pressing, especially in connection with the Spanish fortresses in Morocco, between which and the tribes of Er-Rîf there had been a good deal of trouble.* When the death of the sultan threw the government into a state of chaos, there were three demands before it: to restore some Spanish prisoners taken near Melilla, to pay an indemnity, and to grant a neutral zone round each of the "presidios."† After the first had been granted, the others were pressed, and the Spanish government, impelled by an intoxicated Press,[2] declared war. It was then October, late in the season, but the wild excitement which ruled in Spain ignored all difficulties, and eschewed all prudence.

Sidi Mohammed XVIII. 1859-1873.

***The War with Spain.* 1859.**

From their base at Ceuta, with a provisioning fleet at hand, the Spanish army slowly marched on Tetuan,

* The official correspondence which previous to this war passed between the representatives of Spain and Morocco[3] reveals the determination of the Spanish Government to secure an accession of territory outside Ceuta on the excuse of raids by the people of Anjera, or to declare war. It is followed by a lame excuse addressed in a circular to the neutral Powers.

† See *The Land of the Moors*, chapter xix.

[1] En-Náṣiri, p. 211. [2] See Godard, vol. ii., p. 652; Hardman, p. 92.
[3] *Manchester Guardian* Office, 1860 (B. Mus., 8042 c.)

under Prim, O'Donnell and Rios, meeting with no serious opposition till December.* New Year's Day was signalised by a crushing defeat of the Moors,† but February had come before the town, which had been pillaged by the natives and deserted, was entered on the invitation of the Jews and few remaining Moors. March saw the battle of Wád Rás, on the Tangier road, in which the Moors were finally routed, and the campaign was at an end.[1] Peace was signed in August on the Spaniards' terms. These included the cession round Melilla of "the radius of twice the distance of a twenty-four pounder shot,"[2] the recognition of Spain's right to avenge the attacks of the Berbers without hostility to the Moorish Government, the acknowledgment of her claim to an unidentified fishing station on the coast of Sûs, called by them "Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña,"[3] and the payment of an indemnity of four hundred million reals vellon (nominally £4,000,000), for which Tetuan was to be retained as pledge.‡ But the objection to this last item by the British Government, which had stipulated that the territorial integrity of Morocco should be maintained, led to the raising of a loan in London, wherewith to pay off the Spaniards.§ The whole sum was assured by a lien on the Moorish Customs receipts, which continued to be checked by English and Spanish clerks till 1883,‖

The Tetuan Campaign. 1860.

Territorial Integrity.

* An excellent account of this march is preserved in the reports of Hardman, the *Times* correspondent. See also BAEUMEN, and SCHLAGINTWEIT.

† One of the peculiarities observed in this and the subsequent Spanish war with Morocco was the disproportionate number of foreign officers killed. As most of these were wounded in the head or neck, this is attributed to their being picked off by good shots while erect or on horseback. See HARDMAN, p. 299, and London papers.

‡ O'Donnell became Duke of Tetuan.

§ Bonds were issued for £501,200. The management of these negotiations was chiefly the work of the late Sir John Drummond Hay, on whom it reflected great credit.

‖ The Spanish remained alone till 1887.

1 EN-NÁṢIRI, p. 213. 2 HARDMAN, p. 284. 3 See *The Land of the Moors*, ch. xix.

each nation receiving half. The result of this supervision doubtless contributed much to the subsequent rise of the revenue from this source from a third of a million pounds sterling to a million and two-thirds.

From that time to this few great events have disturbed the course of affairs in Morocco. En-Náṣiri, the contemporary Moorish historian, who at the age of sixty published his

COPPER COIN (UKÎA) OF MOHAMMED XVII., 1781

I.—"And for those who treasure up gold and silver, and do not lay it out in the way of God . . ."*

II.—"Taste that which ye have treasured up."

"Struck in Tetuan, year 1195."

Kitáb el Istiksà, though occupying seventy-six well-filled pages with the period between the close of the Spanish war and the accession of the present sultan, has little to narrate that is of outside interest. There are the usual rebellions, notably one raised by a certain Jîláni er-Rîfi, who was defeated and put to death immediately after the war. Sidi Mohammed continued to reign for fourteen years thereafter unmolested, except by customary

1894.

* Ḳor'án, s. ix., v. 35. The verse quoted from continues here, "denounce a grievous punishment. On the day of judgment their treasures shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be scarred therewith, and their tormentors shall say, 'This is what ye have treasured up for your souls. Taste that which ye have treasured up.'"

1873. foreign embassies and claims, his death occurring from natural causes.

Then succeeded, in the words of En-Náṣiri,[1] "the King of the Age, the Prince of Believers, my lord El Ḥasan,—son of Mohammed, son of Ábd er-Raḥmán,—may God make his kingdom eternal!" News of his father's death reached Mulai El Ḥasan when at the head of an army in Sûs. This secured for him a peaceful proclamation in Marrákesh, but Fez, ever hard to please, refused him. From Marrákesh to Rabat the journey provided the new sovereign with two months of hard fighting, and there yet remained before him the untamable Beni Ḥasan between Rabat and Mequinez. These at last being overcome, and his successful proclamation having been effected in Mequinez, it was not until several months later that he could venture to Fez, and when he did so, the single day's journey between the two cities was many times multiplied by conflicts with the Beni Mateer.

El Hasan III. 1873–1894.

New Fez was not so difficult to manage, but Old Fez firmly rejected the in-coming monarch, closing its gates against him under the advice of an old blind shareef, who roused its populace with the usual story that they were being forced to pay unwarranted taxes. Old Fez had at first acknowledged Mulai el Ḥasan, stipulating only for the abolition of the ever-obnoxious enkás tax, which was agreed to. But the stipulation was not kept, and the tax was reimposed, whereupon much ill-feeling was kindled. A trifling altercation in the street between a subordinate of the chief ameen of revenue and a tannen fired the air. The tanners looted the ameen's premises; general confusion ensued, and the whole city, fearing the sultan's wrath, closed the gates and refused him admittance unless

Proclamation in Fez.

[1] Vol. iv., p. 278.

the stipulation as to the abolition of the enkás, etc., was kept. Siege was laid to the town, which was eventually entered with the help of traitors within, though the first seventy to enter by the Báb Maḥurôḳ were shot down in the street. Háj Mennû, the kaid who contributed most to the victory, became so powerful that the sultan feared him, and having with some difficulty secured his arrest, sent the fallen general to Tetuan, where he remained in confinement for fifteen years. It was currently reported that the torture of the "wooden jelláb" was inflicted upon him—a Moorish version of the "Virgin of Nuremberg."

Character of Mulai el Ḥasan.

Thus the late sultan, El Ḥasan III., came to the throne, commencing what was, for Morocco, a beneficent reign, destined to see more changes, especially in the growth of intercourse with the outside world, than had been known for many a previous reign. In the eyes of most of the foreign tourists and others who now began to write so profusely about the country,—but in ignorance of the characters either of his people or of his predecessors,—Mulai el Ḥasan was a blood-thirsty tyrant, "ever gorging himself on slaughter and rapine," a "conscienceless autocrat" supported by a "still more unscrupulous horde" of officials, "delighting only in the pleasures of his ḥareem."

In contrast to his antecedents and surroundings, the late sultan was mild and gentle, strongly averse to the shedding of blood, and failing to succeed in many reforms of which he was in favour, only because he was not the absolute ruler he was so often represented to be. Mulai el Ḥasan was, from the Mohammedan point of view, a good, but not a strong, sovereign. Such a character as Mulai Ismâïl was infinitely better suited, not only to the Moorish temperament, but to the ideas which foreigners also love to entertain of eastern potentates. Mulai el Ḥasan did

indeed earn some reputation as a warrior by his constant military expeditions; but though he would often appear in person on the field, he was always attended by four guards clad exactly as he was, by way of precaution.[1]

Five years of Campaigning.

In recording previous reigns it has not been considered necessary to recount in full the various campaigns of the Moorish sultans within their own borders, but since nothing could give a better idea of the method by which Morocco is governed, in this last

CITY GATE, TANGIER

reign an outline of its military expeditions is given. It was a reign which both began and ended with war upon turbulent tribes. The proclamation in Fez having been effected, there still remained the mountainous province of Er-Rîf to subdue, and by the time that was effected, Marrákesh was up in arms. The southern capital had hardly been reduced to order when the sultan was obliged to return with all haste to Fez, on his way

[1] MARTINIÈRE, p. 331, note.

to Oojda. Between the two last-named points Mulai el Ḥasan had to sustain his first great defeat, at the hands of the Ghaïáṭà, who succeeded in surprising his army in a defile since called by his soldiers the "Valley of Hell." The imperial ḥareem was carried off, and other serious losses were suffered. Another road was then successfully followed, and Oojda was reached. The rebel governor was captured by a stratagem, and the return march commenced. With the assistance of a neighbouring tribe which knew the ground, a nominal submission was obtained from the Ghaïáṭà, but to this day no Moorish official or soldier dare approach their territory save in disguise.

A year's rest in Fez followed all this fighting, and the country seemed quiet. Then, in the year of the famine from which so many Moors compute their age,* the sultan returned to Marrákesh, where he fell ill. When this was known, the Berbers began to rebel all over the kingdom. Demonstrations by foreign men-of-war were made in the ports, theoretically to secure protection for the foreign residents, but practically with the result of still further arousing the populace, who could only see in this display a combined design on their independence. Nine years later history repeated itself, but Mulai el Ḥasan recovered on the second occasion also, and both times the "gathering of the eagles" was in vain. The scenes of anarchy which usually ensue when the centre of authority is gone, and when every man is left to his own will, were postponed, and neither mountaineers nor foreigners obtained the plunder hoped for.

A Gathering of the Eagles.

1878.

1887.

Nevertheless, when the sultan again took the field the following year, three tribes had to be chastised for their

* For a graphic description of this famine see Payton, reproduced in *The Times of Morocco*, June 23, etc., 1888.

Minor Campaigns. behaviour, the Beni Mûsà, the Aït 'Attáb, and
1879. the Beni Mateer. Next year the Ḳalâïà, a Rîfi tribe, was subdued by one of the sultan's uncles after
1880. a desperate struggle. Then the tribes around Wazzán rose, but were subjugated by June. July saw war raging with the Aït Yûssi, and after them came
1881. the turn of the Haïáïnà. Next year the army was directed to settle accounts with the Zemmûr and Záïr, two of the fiercest tribes in the Empire, between Mequinez and Rabat, after which the mountaineers of Tádla were attacked, and then the Záïáni. The most important result of this continuous struggle was the employment, first of an English military instructor, and subsequently of French officers "on loan" for the much-needed re-organisation of the imperial troops, and for their instruction in the use of modern weapons.*

Then came the great expedition of Mulai el Ḥasan's reign, the first invasion of Sûs. At the time, throughout the whole of that large province, two kaids only acknowledged the sultan's authority, and they were established in the extreme north, at Agadîr Ighîr and Tarudant. Ere the army left the plains to re-cross the Atlas, there were forty-three kaids of his appointment, many of them, it is true, officials whom he had found there, but they were no longer independent. Fearful losses had been suffered by the shareefian troops, and fearful hardships had been endured.

First Sûs Expedition.
1882.

It was on this occasion that the remarkable innovation was introduced of employing a foreign steamer to convey grain and other provision to various points on the coast. This was successfully accomplished at Agadîr and Massa,† but at Aglû a boisterous sea prevented a landing, and famine reigned in the army

European Influences.

* See chapter xii.

† For an account of this see Johnston and Cowan, also Payton, in *The Field*, September 2nd.

till supplies could be obtained overland. Aglû was the furthest point reached by the sultan, but his uncle took a detachment as far as the Wád Assáka or Nûn, and another was despatched to visit the factory established by an English
1880. company at Tarfáïa, known to us as Cape Juby. Probably that encroachment led to the resumption of a lapsed authority in this direction, and to the institution of
1891. a policy which culminated in the ultimate removal of the Europeans, and their indemnification on a scale which made the venture a financial success.*

The Fate of Sûs.

The greater portion of Sûs had, since early in the century, maintained its practical independence under Sidi Ḥishám bin Ahmad oo Mûsà and his
1810. descendants, but as a result of the negotiations following this expedition, the shareef was induced to tender his submission, one of his sons being among the newly-appointed kaids. Feeling the need of another garrison town in that province, Mulai el Ḥasan built up a new capital, Tiznît, to supersede Ilîgh, the home of the old foes of his family.

But another important question remained to be settled. The Spaniards having had their attention called to Sûs, remembered the admission in the treaty of 1860 of their claim to a fishing station somewhere on that coast, so took advantage of this campaign to enter into negotiations for a port in Sûs, and sent a vessel to make investigations. As they could not agree among themselves which port to demand, it was not wonderful that the Moors refused to recognise their claim to either of the sites proposed, so the question still remains unsettled.† Then the army returned to Marrákesh, after comparatively little fighting, but with heavy losses on the
1882. long summer march, for they only reached their destination in August.

* See *The Land of the Moors*, chapter xx. † *Ibid.*, chapter xix.

In the following year the subjugation of the Tádla district was undertaken, and the submission of the powerful tribe of Záïán having been secured, the sultan penetrated the province under its protection. This only availed till the Samâála were found well entrenched as a bar to progress, and were only overcome by a bombardment of their new castle, a proceeding which at once awed and reduced them. Nevertheless, the terms of submission could not be settled, since the women would not hear of being delivered up to the army, and refused to let the men surrender without a free pardon. So fighting recommenced, but the garrison made its escape by night, and in the morning their ḳaṣbah was demolished. The next month was spent in over-running the Záïr country again, and Mequinez was reached in October, after a four months' campaign.

Sturdy Resistance.

1883.

It was not until September of the following year that the Court left Mequinez for Fez; but in the interval the Zemmûr had been fought, and also the Aïáta Rûmi. In August the ḳaṣbah of Almîs, south of the Melwîya, had been blown up with dynamite.* This was the first time that terrible invention had been employed in Morocco, but its effectiveness, under European direction, has led to its general use, to the great dismay of the Berbers. The same year Mulai el Ameen, the sultan's uncle, was sent on an expedition to Shesháwan.

1884.

A more important force than dynamite, however, had been introduced, for in the previous year a printing press had been set up in Tangier, and the Spanish weekly paper, *Al-moghreb Al-aksa*, had been established. This was followed, after a few

Introduction of the Press.

1883.

* El Ufráni ascribes the invention of gunpowder to a doctor busy with an experiment in alchemy in 1366.[1]

[1] p. 163.

KASBAH OF A COUNTRY GOVERNOR [*From a photograph by W. B. Harris, Esq.*
(*Sekka*)

months, by the *Réveil du Maroc*, and in the following
1884. year by *The Times of Morocco*.* From this time forward the chronicles of the Moorish Empire are to be sought in their columns, but as regards most internal affairs to be sought in vain, for their information is principally confined to the coast, or to hearsay. En-Náṣiri continues to supply a somewhat detailed account of events of which the local European Press had but imperfect knowledge, while to himself, as to most Moors, the doings of the Nazarenes on the coast are matters of indifference.

Mulai el Ḥasan's next expedition took him to Mequinez and Rabat in June of the following year, but the fighting
1885. of the season did not begin till he reached the northern parts of Natîfa, which were thoroughly "eaten up." Then he entered Marrákesh, and there spent the winter. Next year Marrákesh was left full early—in March

Second Sûs Campaign. —for a second great expedition to Sûs, through
1886. Saffi, Mogador and Agadir Ighîr. The Dár ed-Dlîmi was demolished, and Tiznît inspected, after which the force pushed on to Arkshîsh and the Wád Nûn. This river was followed to Glîmîn, thus altogether exceeding the limits of the previous expedition, throughout confirming the shareefian authority. The Great Feast, which fell that year on July 14, was kept in state in Tarudant, whence the Lower Atlas was crossed by the Bibáwán Pass, several large forts at Kafîfát being levelled by the way, and the Hawára and Idaû Tanán tribes were devastated amid fearful excesses by the soldiery, which now began to be heard of in Europe.

Tádla and southern Natîfa were the districts next to be victimised, including Damnát, which has never recovered.

A Record Journey. Thence a march was made to Rabat, some hard
1887. fighting being experienced in Sháwîa, but the

* For a detailed account of the Press in Morocco see Part III.

army was permitted to follow the direct route from Rabat to Mequinez without molestation. The expedition had lasted from May to August,* and under the strain the sultan's health broke down. During the autumn his life was despaired of, and the stoppage of the whole machinery of government was feared. A "Morocco scare" again seized Europe, which was increased in November by a futile attempt on the part of Spain to appropriate the island of Perejil in the Straits of Gibraltar.†

It was in May again that the next start was made, the object being the Beni M'gîld, who had for centuries main-
1888. tained their independence, remembering only Mulai Ismáïl, whose intention had been, had he lived, to make a paved road through their district from Marrákesh to Mequinez. At the outset of the expedition all went well; several chiefs had surrendered at discretion, and it seemed as though there would be little fighting. Mulai Sarûr, an uncle of the sultan, was despatched with some 300 mounted men to the tribe of Aït Sokhmán to arrange certain matters, and at first was hospitably treated. What followed I give in the words of one of the kaids then present, from whom many other details also have been gleaned.

"Three days they ate with the Aït Sokhmán as brothers. On the third they distributed their horses among the villages around for pasture. In the evening after supper they were resting. Suddenly the powder spoke! 'Drub, drub; drub, drub.' Those who were still alive sprang to their feet, but Mulai Sarûr—may God compassionate and pardon him—was not of those. Of all who went, but few returned, and they are now in prison. They were kaids, masters of eighteen

A Native Account.

* See *The Times of Morocco*, August 11. † *Ibid.*, Nov. 17 and Dec. 1.

shots,* and were not the men to have fled. When our lord heard the news he marched forth to vengeance.

"The chiefs of the whole district had cast off the cloaks which they had received from our lord—may God send him victorious,—swearing that if they allowed him to pass through their country they would confess themselves dogs, and never give their daughters in marriage. One of their number brought their cloaks to our lord, throwing them before him as a warning, but he pushed on, more determined than ever. Four of those kaids are in prison on Mogador Island; two have fled. Mulai el Ḥasan's vengeance for his uncle's death was swift and sure. When he reached the land of the Aït Sokhmán he found it deserted, so he turned against their allies, the Aït Yûssi, whom he destroyed wholesale. The army ate up everything of any worth the men could lay their hands on; what the men left their beasts fattened on, and what the animals left the fire ate, so that the country which they found a garden was left a desert."

It was August when Mequinez was reached, and the winter was passed in Fez. Next year one thing after another
1889. delayed the start, which was not made until June, when the route lay north-east. The first accounts settled were those of Ghomára, adjoining the Rîf, after which the sultan paid his respects at the shrine of Mulai 'Abd es-Slám bin Mashîsh, pushing forward to Shesháwan, Tetuan and Tangier. His reception at the last two places† was so unexpectedly hearty that Mulai el Ḥasan gave $10,000 for a bridge on the Tetuan river.[1] In Tangier a still more enthusiastic welcome from the Europeans was to surprise him, and, in spite of great fears, the visit passed off peaceably.

* That is, armed with repeating rifles.

† Described in detail by numerous correspondents in *The Times of Morocco.*

[1] En-Násiri, vol. iv., p. 275.

Thence, by way of Laraiche, he returned to Fez, and raided the Aït Sokhmán to avenge the death of Mulai
1890. Sarûr, after which he passed to Marrákesh. At the southern capital such sons and daughters as were of suitable age were married off, and as the country was considered "pacified," a year was spent in recruiting. The sultan's health was failing, and when at last he ceased to appear in public Europe was filled with designs and alarms.

COURTYARD OF TANGIER CITADEL, IN WHICH THE LATE SULTAN RECEIVED THE FOREIGN MINISTERS

(The central arches are the entrance to the Treasury, in front of which stand treasure chests.)

1891. The "gathering of the eagles," in the shape of foreign men-of-war, was again repeated, and a speedy change of masters in Morocco was foretold. France attempted to lay hands upon the tributary oasis of Ṭûát, and the Shareef of Wazzán was employed on a mission on their

behalf, but in vain. The shareef came home to die, but
1893. the sultan recovered, and in the following year set out for Tafilált.

The story of the final expedition of this reign has been most picturesquely and yet accurately told by
The last Expedition. Mr. Walter B. Harris, whose love of adventure
1893. took him to Tafilált while Mulai el Ḥasan was there.[1] From Fez to Tafilált, although no actual fighting was experienced, the troublesome Beni M'gild and Aït Yûssi had to be watched and appeased with presents—strange proceeding for a Moorish sultan! It was October before the palmy destination was reached, and the army of 40,000, including followers, was unable to find sustenance to last the winter, so in spite of the sultan's failing health, and the difficulties of the road, the return was ordered. Tropical heat by day and extreme cold by night, added to the scarcity of food, worked havoc among the troops, who had to be constantly watchful.

Winter was already setting in, and in crossing the Gláwi Pass on the way to Marrákesh, some 8000 feet above the sea level, "as the cold increased, soldiers, mules,
Terrible Hardships. horses, and camels, died of exposure.* Snow fell and covered the camp, and only by forced marches were the remnants of the great horde dragged out from the deathly grip of the rocks and snows of the Atlas mountains to the plains below." By the time they entered Marrákesh the sultan had become an old man. "Travel-stained and weary, he rode his great white horse with its mockery of green and gold trappings, while over a head that was a picture of suffering waved the imperial umbrella

* "Men . . . died in numbers, frozen to death, while the Berbers stripped the bodies of clothes and rifles. . . . Probably a third of the baggage animals had been frozen to death, fallen over precipices, or broken their legs on the bad mountain roads."[2]

1 *Tafilet.* 2 HARRIS, *Tafilet*, pp. 327, 328.

of crimson velvet." But Mulai el Ḥasan found no peace at Marrákesh; fighting had occurred in his absence between the people of the Rîf and the Spaniards, which
1894. resulted in his having an indemnity to pay of twenty million pesetas,* after an expedition which could not have cost the country far short of a million sterling.

These events compelled the sultan to set out for Rabat and Fez, instead of allowing him rest in the south, for the Rîf tribes had to be punished.

A Tragic Close.

But "Fez was never reached, the expedition never took place, and Mulai el Ḥasan's entry into Rabat was in a coffin at the dead of night." His death had occurred in Tádla a few days before, but had been skilfully concealed by Si Ahmad, his trusted chamberlain, at present Wazeer Regent. In solemn silence the body was carried into Rabat through a hole in the wall, and laid to rest beside his ancestor Sidi Mohammed XVII. (bin 'Abd Allah.)

Next morning the late sultan's favourite son, Mulai 'Abd el 'Azîz, whom he had trained as his successor, surrounding him with pomp and power, and had sent before him to Rabat, was proclaimed amid rejoicings. A lad of sixteen, he was unable at once to assume control, and is still a minor, whose affairs are administered by Si Ahmad bin Mûsà as regent. The European Powers having been prepared to support him, and supreme authority being in the hands of Si Ahmad, 'Abd el 'Azîz succeeded with but little fighting, and what risings did take place in Raḥámna and elsewhere, were suppressed with a severity that awed the nation into submission.

The Present Sultan.

Whatever peace and quiet Morocco has since enjoyed must be set down to Si Ahmad's strong hand and political

* About £650,000.

The Wazeer Regent.

skill. Certainly not for many a long day has Morocco known such an administration, but the question is, how long will it last? The Circassian mother of the present sultan is credited with a strong and beneficial influence over her son, as also is Sidi Mohammed el 'Amráni, uncle of the sultan by marriage. Between this party and that of the ex-Grand Wazeer, Háj Mâati Jamaï, and his brother, the

COURT OF PALACE IN TANGIER CITADEL
OCCUPIED BY THE LATE SULTAN

ex-Minister of War, Si Mohammed es-Saghîr, there has always existed a bitter rivalry.* As soon, therefore, as Si Ahmad bin Mûsà felt quite secure, some five weeks after the late sultan's death, his rivals, including many lesser officials, were thrown into prison at Mequinez, and their

* This Jamaï family, by origin Spanish, from the neighbourhood of Xeres, was already powerful in the twelfth century, one of them having been wazeer to Yûsef II., and another having become one of the companions of Ibn Tûmart the Mahdi, as they fell into disgrace in 1181.[1]

[1] ABD EL WÁḤḤÍD, 1893, p. 228, and IBN KHALDÛN.

property was confiscated on a charge of conspiracy likely to have been too well founded, since they knew that the succession of 'Abd el 'Azîz would mean their own inevitable downfall.

The Proclamation of Mulai 'Abd el 'Azîz IV. 1894.

The proclamation of the new sultan in Fez was achieved by a master-stroke. The start afforded by the concealment of the death of El Ḥasan enabled Si Ahmad to notify the báshá before the people got news, and the notables were called to hear an edict in the Bu Jelûd Mosque as if nothing had happened. There, with closed doors, the báshá secured the drawing up of an act of allegiance to Mulai 'Abd el Azîz. This had the support of his uncle Ismâïl, and of his brother 'Omar, the former of whom, under other circumstances, might have become a formidable rival.* The deed was done, and as it was the time of the harvest—that year one of great abundance after years of comparative lack, requiring every available hand—the country people wisely followed suit, instead of making the usual stand.

Peaceful Succession.

There is nothing dearer to the Moorish heart than absolute independence, and the death of a sultan is always held to dissolve all existing authority till enforced at the sword-point by his successor; but on this occasion, though the parade of foreign vessels on the coast as usual increased alarm by adding fear of invasion, things soon quieted down except in one or two districts. The new sultan marched with his army through the Beni Ḥasan and the Zemmûr to Zarhôn, Mequinez and Fez, where he was installed without opposition. Shortly afterwards his brothers 'Omar and Mohammed were arrested for asserting pretensions, and Si Ahmad, having succeeded as Grand Wazeer, appointed one brother,

* As soon as Ismâïl had entered the mosque guards were placed in his house by the báshá, but on his signing the act of submission they were withdrawn before his return.

Si Drees, to his own old post of Chamberlain, and another Si Sâïd, to the Ministry of War. From that time to this the power of the Wazeer Regent has been unquestioned; many reforms have been instituted,* and the only complaint of the people is that the regent rules—not their sultan. The question now is, will he relinquish his grip on the approaching majority of His Majesty 'Abd el 'Azîz? —whom "may God direct."

Molinari, Photo., Tangier *From Harper's Magazine, Copyright, 1895, by Harper & Brothers*

CAMP OUTSIDE FEZ; PREPARING TO START. (See p. 217)

* These have been chiefly fiscal, but a most praiseworthy act of Si Ahmad's was the prohibition of the Mekka pilgrimage in 1897, on account of the epidemic then prevailing in the East. This was done at the instance of the foreign representatives at Tangier. It was forbidden by a solemn, lengthy edict, read in all the mosques. The Fez 'Aolámà were never consulted about it—only a few at Marrákesh, who were told the sultan's wishes, and at once "found scripture" for them, an instance showing how slight is the effective influence of the 'Aolámà. In December, 1898, in response to representations of the diplomatic body at the instance of Sir Arthur Nicholson, the sultan ordered the cleansing and lime-washing of the principal prisons in the interior, as well as in the coast towns, with an increase of the daily allowance of bread to the prisoners.

NOTE ON THE WAR WITH FRANCE IN 1844

The bombardment of Tangier and Mogador was the maiden venture of the Prince de Joinville, third son of Louis Philippe, then twenty-six years of age, and eager to obtain renown. That of Tangier, confined as far as possible to the walls and fortifications, lasted from 8 to 11 a.m. on the 6th of August, English and other vessels looking on.[1] That of Mogador took place on August 15th, when a sterner resistance was met with, especially on the island.[2] To the last moment the British minister, Mr. Drummond Hay, had laboured to bring the opponents to terms, but his efforts were defeated by the refusal of the Moors to recognise their hopeless position, and by the ardour of the confident Frenchmen.[3] The European residents were transported for safety to Gibraltar and Cadiz with much hardship, whilst their dwellings and stores were placed under guard, which made them the depositories of the wealth of their neighbours. In Tangier this step proved successful, but not so in Mogador, where the indebtedness of the merchants to the Government prevented some of them from fleeing till the town was abandoned, when the place was pillaged.

On hearing of Joinville's action, Marshal Bugeaud, commanding the French land forces, replied, "Sir, you have drawn on me a bill of exchange; be sure that I shall not long delay in honouring it. *Vive la France!*"[4] He enclosed a plan of his proposed operations, fixing a date for the battle, to which he strictly adhered. Oojda had been entered on June 19, and on July 19, after desultory skirmishing and raiding, the troops returned to Lallah Maghnîa (Marnia) "for refreshment." Early in August they re-crossed the frontier to meet the sultan, who was entrenched behind the River Isly with some 6000 "regular" horse, 10,000 to 12,000 picked foot-soldiers, and perhaps 60,000 rough-mounted levies. Against this host the invaders brought 6500 bayonets and 1500 horse. On the eve of the battle the volatile French decked the oleanders by the river with lanterns of coloured paper, and in that make-believe garden indulged in punch and speeches. Addressing his officers, the marshal described the formation of his army as resembling a boar's head, his best troops the tusks, himself between the ears, "to split the Moorish army as a knife does butter."[5] The Moors having been put off their guard by repeated foraging sorties, on that last night the whole army went out to stay, and at 1 a.m. approached the enemy's camp, which, after safely crossing the river, it attacked at dawn. By noon the marshal was enjoying the tea and cakes prepared in the tent of the sultan's son. From 12,000 to 15,000 Moors, alive and dead, were on their hands, and 250 of their own killed and wounded, besides their own sick, who entered hospital at the rate of nearly 200 a day, on account of the heat and fatigue.

[1] For detailed accounts see *The Times of Morocco*, No. 125; MURRAY, vol. i., chap. vii.; *L'Illustration*, March to August, 1844.

[2] The prince's own account is given in his *Histoire Glorieuse de la Marine*, vol. iv., p. 324.

[3] See his *Life*.

[4] *Life*, Tr. by Miss C. M. Yonge, vol. ii., p. 118.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

CHAPTER THE TENTH

THE MOORISH GOVERNMENT

NOTWITHSTANDING the great similarity which to casual observers exists between the administration of one Mohammedan state and another, Morocco possesses individuality enough to warrant an independent study of its methods in this, as in other departments. It has, however, in common with all Muslim nations, principles and standards furnished by the Ḳor'án and the precedents of early practice. Several of the Moorish dynasties—as the first, the Idreesi; the third, the Maghráwà (Fáṭimi); the eighth, the Sâadi; and the ninth, the Fîláli (now reigning)—have been acknowledged descendants of Mohammed—shareef, or noble, as they are styled in this country,—and as such have had a peculiar claim upon the reverence of Muslimîn. This has afforded them ground, such as the Turks never boasted, for their assumption of the khalîfate; while others of their dynasties—the fifth (the most powerful of all), the Muwáḥḥadi; and the sixth, the Beni Marîn—assumed the khalîfate with just as little right as the rulers of Constantinople. Others, again, as some ameers of the fourth, the Murábṭi, line, were careful to adopt the title of "Ameer el Muslimîn," "Prince of the Surrendered," in place of the more pretentious designation of "Ameer el Mû'minîn," "Prince

Individuality.

The Khalîfate.

of the Faithful."* But since the introduction of the title of "sulṭán"—best translated, perhaps, as "emperor,"†—early in the seventeenth century, that of "ámeer" has almost dropped in conversation, and although no Moor would ascribe the succession to any other ruler than his own, they do not trouble themselves about it in Morocco, since, except in theory, the khalîfate, in its original form of a general leadership of all Muslimîn, has been extinct since the Turks conquered Egypt. But it is still applied in edicts, and in documents addressed to His Shareefian Majesty.

Position of the Sultan.

In any case the Sultan of Morocco is the highest spiritual, as well as the highest temporal, power recognised by the Moors; and to this alone is due his influence among the semi-independent Berbers of the mountains, or the Arabs of the western Sáḥara. The exact position which he holds in the minds of his people it would be hard to define, but it may be summed up as one of reverential awe, due in part to his high office and hallowed descent, and in part to his unquestioned power, independently of personal considerations. Even when the most brutal and revolting deeds have been committed by the sultans of Morocco, these have not impaired the loyalty or the devotion of

Sacred Majesty.

* This latter title had been selected by Abu Bakr, Mohammed's immediate successor, as more suitable to be handed down to his successors than that of khalîfa, "lieutenant," either "of God," or—as he preferred to understand it, lest it might seem to imply the absence of God—of the "Prophet." See p. 72.

† The title of emperor appears to have been first applied by England in correspondence with Mulai Ismâïl.[1] The use of the word sultan by En-Náṣiri, in writing of some of the principal preceding rulers (*e.g.*, of Yâḳûb II. in 1258), only reflects the custom and idea of the present day. The title of sultan, as well as those of imám (priest) and khalîfa, appear, however, on much earlier tombs, as on that of 'Ali V. (Abu'l Ḥasan) in 1351 (*see* p. 103).

[1] Mouette *Hist.*, p. 309.

their persecuted people, whose history does not present a single instance of a tyrant overthrown by a revolted populace. Yet in several instances ameers have been assassinated—some of them when drunk—by their own guards, and numerous pretenders have succeeded in supplanting them, but this has only been possible when someone who appeared able to make good an equal right to rule has stood forward demanding allegiance. Might and right are here, as generally throughout the East, considered synonymous, and power, wherever it exists, goes unquestioned.

Imperial Titles.

The titles by which a Moorish sultan may be known are as elastic as the ingenuity of the scribe addressing him, but those most frequently employed include "The Noble Presence,"* "The Lofty Portal" ("Sublime Porte"),† "The Exalted of God,"‡ and such like phrases; but the commonest expression on the lips of the people is simply Maûláná, "Our lord," the singular form of which, Maûláï, or—as it is more commonly though less correctly pronounced—Mûláï, "My lord," is the form of address for all of shareefian descent. An exception is, however, often made in the case of sultans named Mohammed, who are simply styled Seyyidi, vulgarly Sidi—"Mr.," or the corresponding term Sîdná,§ "Our master," may be used.

A Limited Autocracy.

Although in theory the sultan is an autocrat, and if a strong and unscrupulous man may be one in practice, his autocracy is really limited by his surroundings, and by the same religious influence which forms his chief support. For this reason every care is taken to dispose of all possible rivals, however nearly related, some being on one pretext or

* Ḥaḍrat es-Shareef.
† Báb el 'Áli.
‡ El 'Áli b'Illah.
§ For Seyyidîná.

another put to death, and the majority banished to Tafîlált.* The most striking feature of the situation is, that while content to submit to almost any abuse by its heaven-sent ruler, the inert mass of the Moorish nation can at once be moved and roused to action by any sweeping attempt at reform which appears to trench upon religious precedent, although all changes insignificant enough to pass unnoticed at the moment, how drastic soever they may be in their results, are quietly acquiesced in when once they have been adopted. It is probable that there is no position so cherished that it could not be washed away without opposition, if this were quietly and skilfully done.

State Counsellors.

It is true that there exists no formally defined body with the power to stay the sultan's hand, but the religious check is exercised by the whole company of the 'Aolámà, or "Learned Ones"—theologians or jurisconsults—whose opinion on all measures of importance proposed is speedily asked by all, and is freely expressed.† Thus, if the sultan himself did not seek it, as he is usually politic enough to do at an early stage, the people would soon know whether their religious guides supported or opposed it, and in the case of rival opinions, which are rare,—since most prefer the safe side of conservatism,—they will range themselves according to fancy without hesitation. But the "wise men" themselves are so much in the power of the

* But the practice of putting dangerous rivals to death has not been followed of late years, and the present sultan, or his adviser, has wisely refrained from doing so.

† In the 12th century such famous men as Abu'l Walîd bin Roshd ("Averroes") and Abu Bakr bin Zohr ("Avenzoar"—who settled in Marrákesh under Yûsef II. in 1182—occupied this position, and the former was sent as Ḳáḍi to Córdova.[1]

[1] Raûḍ el Ḳarṭaṣ, p. 292.

sultan that they always make a point of ascertaining his wishes and the strength of his will in a matter before expressing opinions. Whenever they are asked to endorse some measure absolutely contrary to "scripture," they observe that one of those particular points is involved which are obviously left for the decision of the Exalted

UNIQUE PHOTOGRAPH OF THE LATE
SULTAN, MULAI EL ḤASAN, ATTENDED BY HIS MINISTERS

By H. E. the Baron Whettnall

(The Sultan is the most central figure.)

Presence, as he may judge expedient for the interests of Islám. So while very useful as a shield and refuge in negotiations with either friends or foes, their absolute influence is practically nil.

At the same time it is worthy of note that, while popular revolutions, as we understand them, practically never take place in Morocco, no hesitation is shown in taking up arms against the sultan himself, if need be, to prevent an unpopular measure; still less in deposing an unpopular official, or in refusing an unpopular tax. I have myself seen a so-called "rebel" province stoutly fighting against imperial troops sent in support of an obnoxious governor, shouting as they did so the same battle-cry as their opponents, "God give victory unto our master,"—an expression which, by the way, is made use of on almost every occasion on which the sultan is mentioned.

Independence of People.

The intrigues of his ḥareem and Court are also sources of weakness which undermine autocracy, for there is very seldom anything like a disinterested politician in Morocco, or, it might almost be added, a true patriot. The immediate entourage of a Moorish sultan may be said to consist chiefly of women, of whom he has a large assortment, white and black. The honour of admission to the ḥareem is so great—not to speak of the opportunities of influence which it secures, or the chance of becoming mother of the heir,—that it is eagerly sought after, and influential men with pretty daughters do not hesitate to bribe the women in charge to obtain their recommendation. Supplies are also obtained from the mart of Constantinople, where an old friend of mine * purchased, as an offering on his return, the Circassian who became the mother of the present sultan, and two whom he retained for his own use. Some of these speak

Intrigues.

The Imperial Ḥareem.

* The late Ḥáj 'Abd es-Slám Brîsha, at one time governor of Casablanca, and afterwards envoy to Spain.

a little French, or strum a few tunes on the piano.* When the numbers admitted become too great, the surplus inmates are distributed as presents to favoured kaids, although sometimes they are feared as spies in their new homes.

The present Prime Minister Regent, Si Ahmad bin Mûsà, who was brought up in the palace with the late sultan, was his Lord High Chamberlain, or Ḥájib ("curtain"), whose duty it was to stand between his master and all comers. From his position in the household he earned the nickname by which he is still best known, of Bá Ahmad ("Father Ahmad"), generally bestowed on eunuchs only. Such as there are of these unfortunates in the ḥareem are imported at great expense from Abyssinia, and are here known as ṭawáshi, their individual names representing chiefly scents and essences, as âṭṭar (of roses), camphor, musk, ambergris, etc. Otherwise the service of the interior of the palace is chiefly performed by negro boys, the women being in charge of the eunuchs and "wise women" (ârîfahs), who prepare them to meet their lord. The custom of the late sultan used to be to have them paraded in the gardens on Thursdays, when he would signal out any who specially attracted his attention, to be sent into the palace, where he would pass the greater part of Friday in their company.

Attendants.

The numerous princes and princesses are brought up in isolated sanctuaries, each of the boys in company with a slave of his own age, whom he calls his brother, that he may have a dependent and disinterested friend through life. Each year those who

Imperial Offspring.

* Martinière says that from one source or another no less than thirteen French women entered the hareems of the last three sultans, and in the days of European slavery many foreign women shared this fate. (p. 316.) See also En-Náṣiri, vol. iii., pp. 51, 57, 89, 104, 133, and 149; and iv., p. 122.

are old enough are married off at a state function under the sultan's direction,* and only those few remain at Court, or are appointed to hold office, whom their father specially favours, or whose mothers still retain their influence. As the choice of a successor lies entirely with the sultan, it is usually signified by the appointment of the favourite to a high command in the army, or to an important governorship, that he may be able to make good his own when the time comes. But as the father may at any moment change his mind, he is generally careful not to trust the heir-apparent with overwhelming power, lest, fearing such a change, it might be directed against himself, as has frequently occurred. When the favourite is too young to take office, he will probably be associated with his father in official receptions, and thus shown to the people, as was the case with the present sultan during his father's life-time. The girls are early married off, but inherit no rank; nor do the sons of princes, beyond the ordinary title of "my lord."

Choice of Successor.

Forming part of the imperial body-guard are a number of special officers, the mûl' el m'ḍál, who carries the great gold and pearl embroidered parasol; the mûl 'es-shûásh, to flick away flies; the mûl' el meshwár or mesháûri, master of the ceremonies, always of stentorian voice; the mûl' el mezrág, bearing spears in processions; the mûl' el m'káḥḥel, shooter; mûl' el ázfel, flogger; seeáf, headsman; mûl' el frásh, tent-layer; mûl' er-rûah, master of horse; mûl' el má', water-bearer; mûl' atáï, tea-maker; mûl' es-sinják, standard-bearer; and several others who could be mentioned, each in charge of slippers, or cushions, or spurs, or other convenience which might be needed. At one time a mulatto woman was the chamberlain.†

Officers-in-Waiting.

What is called the Moorish Government consists, there-

* For description see ERCKMANN, p. 236.

† In 1728. BRAITHWAITE, p. 217.

THE MOROCCO CABINET IN 1889

Molinari, Photo., Tangier

fore, in the first place of the sultan, in whose name and by whom everything is supposed to be done, and several wazeers or ministers who have his ear, and whose duties are to carry his wishes into effect. As these appointments are practically without pay,* and the holders are expected to make what they can from the public, bribery is at a premium, and no one can be trusted. Indeed, so much inducement is offered by the power of spoliation which these and all governmental posts afford, that they are eagerly bid for, large sums, which have to be repaid from the public purse, often being borrowed from the Jews. At the sultan's right hand, so to speak, stands the Wazeer el Kabeer, or Chief Minister, who sometimes unites the office of Wazeer el Barráni (Foreign Minister) with those of chief adviser, though at Tangier there is a Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, who has to deal in the first instance with the foreign representatives residing there; but he has no power of decision in important matters. Then there is the Wazeer ed-Dakhaláni (Minister of the Interior), whose lucrative office it is to nominate provincial governors; and with him is closely associated the Mûl' el Mál (Minister of Finance). The imperial treasure itself, of which no details are made public, is distributed between the three metropolitan cities of Fez, Mequinez, and Marrákesh, or wherever prudence seems to dictate, and it is most jealously guarded. The actual treasuries can only be opened by agreement between the keeper, the governor of the palace, a trusted eunuch, and the woman in charge of the hareem. Whatever faults may be found with their principles, in their methods of discharging business there

Constitution of "The Government."

The "Cabinet."

* The best man who was ever the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Tangier, Háj Mohammed Torres, one of the few unbribable Moors, received less than £1 a day, and his private secretary, on whose authority I make the statement, one-fifth of that sum.

is a delightful simplicity when once a thing is taken in hand. Red tape is in no favour among the Moors, and precedents are seldom considered, unless as a plea for inaction. The highest officials often transact their affairs on a carpet spread under an awning at their street door, or in the stable-yard, and I have seen the whole Cabinet seated on cushions in the court-yard, while I was presented to their lord hard by.

Imperial Decrees.

In addition to the ministers and personal officials, there are a number of private secretaries, who take down instructions and draw up memoranda and documents, to be sealed at the top with the large public seal, or the small private one, at the sight of either of which the recipient kisses the letter, and applies it to his forehead. Whenever there is an imperial decree to be made known, or news to be disseminated of the official account of some expedition against the tribes, copies of these letters are despatched to all the towns, to be read in the chief mosques with salvos of artillery. A special body of messengers, musákhkharîn, is employed for the conveyance of these documents and confidential messages, and a more rapacious set does not exist. When an interview is granted there is a legion of these and other underlings to fee, and none of them have any shame in making demands.

Official Presents.

Everyone who approaches the sultan is also expected to "bring a present in his hand," and so little delicacy is evinced in the proceedings, that a list of what it is proposed to give is often requested beforehand; the highest officials in the land will send word asking for more. Previous to the audience these offerings are spread out by the attendants on the ground near where the presentation is to take place, and in proportion to their value may be the expectations of

the giver, if no great man has been forgotten. They generally take the form of silks, brocades, mechanical or musical toys, mirrors, clocks, or some out-of-the-way thing thought likely to please, but the sultan is the one man in the country who will not openly receive coin as a rule, though sometimes the late sultan accepted a silken bag of gold at an unanticipated audience, when nothing else was procurable.

Public Audiences.

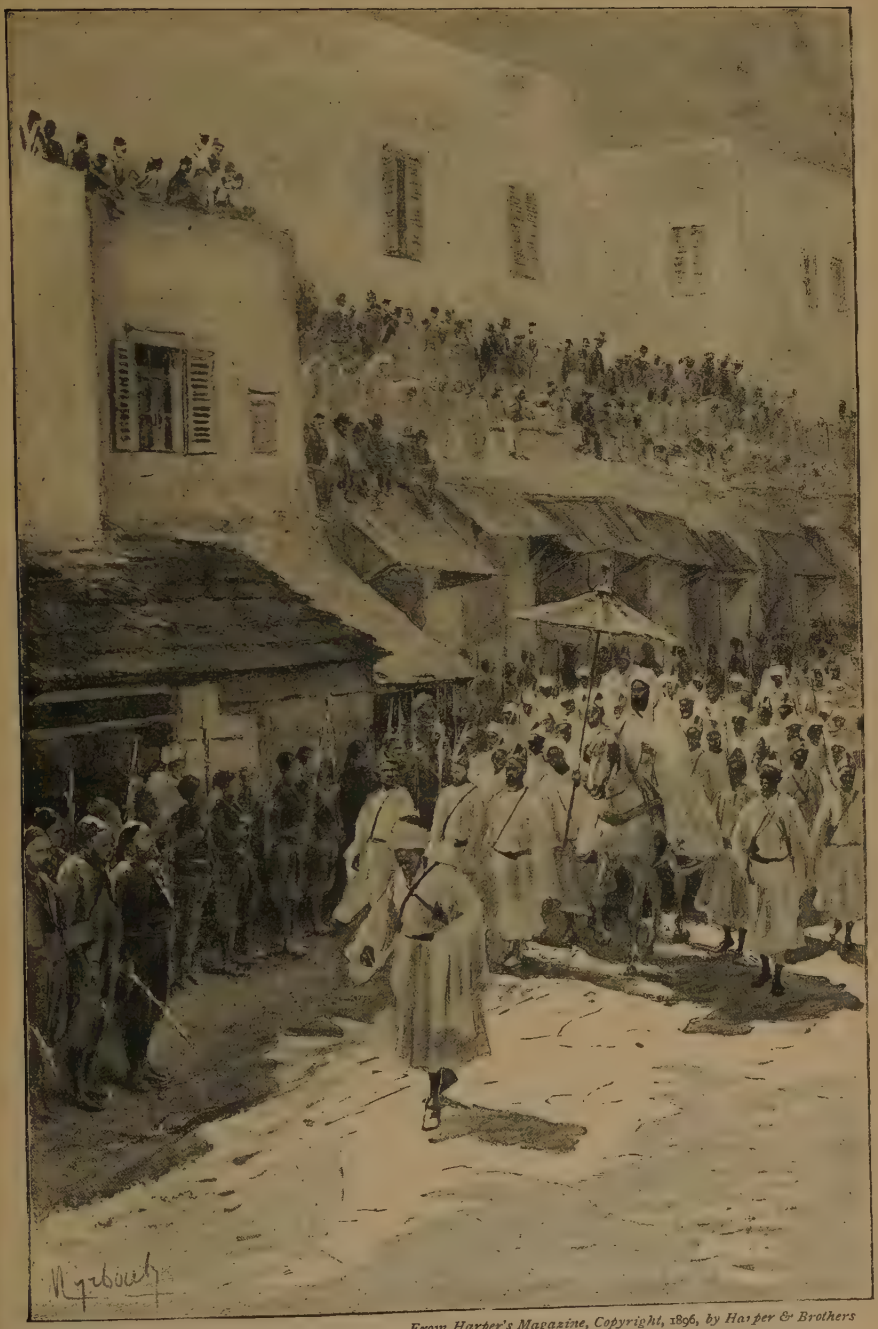
Public audiences with the sultan are invariably unsatisfactory, except for the honour, as business, unless of very great importance, can only be transacted with the ministers. Natives never appear in the imperial presence in a kisá—the toga-like garment of the rich—but always in the selhám (burnoos), and of this the right end only has to be thrown back across the shoulder. The sultan always receives seated, while the visitor stands, bare-headed, even if out of doors, usually on a lower level. The style of dress affected by the Moorish sultans is of the plainest, colours being seldom employed except in the trappings of the horse.* With some it has been possible to tell the rider's state of mind from the colour of his mount, white denoting the best of humours, and black the worst.†

Progresses.

When the sultan rides in state, as he does to reviews, on pilgrimages, and to the mosque on Fridays, he is preceded by five led horses of various colours, from which to select each time he remounts. At other times use is made of one of the extravagant and antiquated vehicles which have been offered by ambassadors from Europe, or of a modern one obtained by purchase, but as there are no made roads, they are not used for any distance. As progress is very slow, men walk ahead with wands to clear the way, and a continuous

* El Yazeed appeared on parade with much show in a Turkish dress. (Matra to Foreign Office.)

† See p. 148.



A. Molinari, Photo., Tangier

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MULAI EL HASSAN III. RETURNING FROM MOSQUE IN TANGIER, 1889

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line of foot-soldiers is kept passing up from the rear and forming in front. Beside their lord walk the personal attendants described, among whom the most prominent are the fly-flickers and the parasol-bearer. This parasol is in Morocco, as in the far East, the chief insignium of royalty,* and as such is said to have been introduced into this country by the Sâadi shareefs, although occasionally used much earlier.[1]

Meanwhile the dense male crowd at every turn is sounding forth the prayer, "Allah îbárak âmûr Sîdná—God bless the days of our lord," or, "Allah yanṣur Sîdná—God send our lord victorious," and from the female throats on the equally crowded roofs is uttered that peculiarly piercing ululation by which joy is expressed in Morocco. Petitions may then be presented, and are taken charge of by a special official, for whatever the Moors think about the ministers,† the justice of the sultan is a Moorish article of faith. After a visit has been paid to the sultan presents are returned, which chiefly consist of clothing, horses, swords, and saddles. When horses are presented to foreigners—and they are common gifts—it is customary to make application for export permits, without which they are not

Return Presents.

* In parts of India, as among the Mahrattas, and in Persia, it has been so used. In Burma, Java and neighbouring countries the number of parasols permitted denotes the user's rank, and in China, also, government officials use them. The antiquity of this custom is evident from the representations on the sculptured stone of Nineveh and Egypt, and its universality is to be traced in the use of canopies and baldachinos in European and modern Egyptian processions.

† "All the evils which afflict a country," says a native writer, El Mámûn, "are attributable to its functionaries."[2] George Borrow, in *The Bible in Spain*,[3] says that Mr. Hay told him that the Moorish Government was "one of the vilest description, with which it was next to impossible to hold amicable relations, as it invariably acted with bad faith, and set at nought the most solemn treaties"—an opinion re-echoed often enough.

[1] See Ibn Khallikán, vol. iv., p. 359. [2] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 105. [3] p. 15.

allowed to be sent out of the country, but since many prefer to dispose otherwise of their steeds, the permits alone sometimes fetch more than the horses, and can usually be obtained in Tangier.*

The Camp.

In camp the imperial enclosure or áfrág occupies the highest ground, and is distinguished by a golden ball on the centre pole of the principal tent, around which are grouped those of the women and

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck

WOMEN'S ENCLOSURE IN CAMP

eunuchs, who alone are permitted within the outer wall of canvas (terráïah) which surrounds the whole.† A similar arrangement, on a smaller scale, is adopted by

* This custom of giving horses is all the more noteworthy in view of the former attitude of the Moors in this matter. In 1721 Commodore Stewart was unsuccessful in obtaining one from Mulai Ismâïl, in spite of the rich presents to the son and heir for this purpose. He was told it was forbidden by law.[1]

† It is said that the transport of Mulai Sulaïmán's áfrág and its contents required no less than 200 mules. (THOMASSY)

[1] BRAITHWAITE, p. 41.

all officials of sufficient importance to travel with their wives. As soon as the inmates have started, these tents are sent on ahead, so as to be ready for them by nightfall. Hard by are pitched the audience and mosque tents, and some distance removed stand those of the ministers and Court officials, the body of the army, without which the Court never travels, being separated from them by a space which serves as a market. The tents in use are called bûkiah or khazánah, according to size, and are divided into ḳûbbah, or bell tents, and ûtáḳ, or oblong pavilions, the latter serving for officials. The better class are lined with coloured cloth, the sides being made to open up and form a cool reception place by day.

The supply of tents for the rank and file is quite inadequate, and many have to sleep outside. There are also many camp followers lodged in nondescript tents and booths. These include women of a most disgusting appearance, hideously painted, who club together, four or five possessing a donkey and tent between them.* Water is conveyed in ox-hides (ráwîah), two of which form a mule-load, and often grain has to be carried as well as all other stores. Camels' flesh forms a stand-by. The greatest confusion and disorder prevail in camp, guns and trappings lying in every direction, though the mounted cannon usually point to Mekkah, to show the direction for prayers. To avoid surprises, only one-half of the army prays at a time.

Followers.

It would be useless to attempt an estimate as to the actual strength of the Moorish army, since, with the exception of a few thousand under European instruction —ḥarrábà,—there are none deserving of the name of "regulars," although some are to the manner born. Such are the Bokhárà, or black guard, instituted centuries since

* See Erckman's description, and De Campou.

Hereditary Warriors.

with importations from the Sûdán, strengthened and reorganised two hundred years ago by Mulai Ismâïl the Blood-thirsty,[1] their name being derived from that of the celebrated author of the "Jamâ es-Saḥîḥ," which is carried with them into action as a talisman. In times past these hereditary warriors, as well as the kindred Udáiá—who originated in a picked body-guard from various tribes—have set up and pulled down sultans at will, having played the parts, alternately, of Mamelukes, Janissaries, and the Prætorian Guard; but now the principal duty of both classes is to garrison certain towns.[2] In spite of the fact of their being practically the slaves of the sultan, to a great extent recruited by the enforced purchase of all blacks in the Empire by Mulai Ismâïl, and so incapacitated by Mohammedan law from holding "real estate," this right was specially conferred on the Bokhárà by imperial decree in 1697. Their colour has in course of time grown much lighter on account of the constant intermarriage with white women, so that they are now of a hue which makes them in the mind of strangers the typical Moors. Of kindred origin are the Ashrágah and Ashrárḍah,* who have certain lands allotted to them on which to live and multiply till wanted.

The Ġaïsh, too, are hereditary,[3] holding lands for service, supplemented when on duty by a small rátib, or allowance, varying according to their duties and the value of their lands, of which they cannot dispose except among themselves. One privilege much appreciated in the Maghrib is their freedom from almost all taxes. From these tribes are

* The Ashrárḍah were originally Sûsîs settled near Marrákesh, but they were removed by Mulai 'Abd er-Raḥmán to between the Sebû and Mequinez, in exchange for the tribe of Aït Immûr, which now occupies their old quarters.

[1] En-Náṣiri, vol. iv. pp. 26, 33, and 42.
[2] See Martinière, p. 291.
[3] En Náṣiri, vol. iv. p. 20.

The Police. selected the Makhâznîa,* or police, who, in addition to this allowance, which is purely nominal, are paid by the job by anyone employing them. They are distinguished by wearing the shashîah, or genuine Fez cap, tall and pointed. The Bokhârîs, and those employed about the palace, are the only ones clothed by the State, which perhaps accounts for their being usually among the most classically dressed in Morocco. From among them, even more than from among the other fighting tribes, are filled some of the chief administrative offices. All of these are horse-soldiers, and, with the exception of the Bokhârîs, provide and maintain their own mounts and arms, as also is the case with many of the special levies.

The infantry, or Askârîa, are of less account, and, with the exception of those under European instruction, hopelessly irregular. They date from the French victory over the Moors in 1844, when something more approaching foreign infantry was seen to be needed. When a levy (ḥarkah) is raised, only those are forced to go who cannot pay for exemption or provide substitutes, and even after they have put in an appearance and been allotted their places, they are permitted to take leave till required for service, if they can find any boy or old man to represent them on "parade," so that the motley and undrilled appearance of a Moorish regiment (ṭâbûr) can be readily inferred. Their uniforms, a modern introduction, chiefly consist of loose drawers and tunic of the cheapest procurable red cloth, from which a gory stream issues whenever it rains, and an equally inferior Turkish "fez" from Austria. This cap and a pair of yellow slippers are often the only articles in which there is any uniformity. Many are wont to

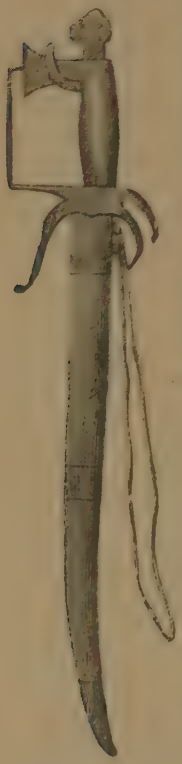
The Infantry.

Uniforms.

* A term, however, strictly applicable to all employés of the Makhzin, or Government.

discard this elegant garb in favour of less conspicuous native garments whenever they are off duty, and on leaving the ranks after parade they may often be seen performing a hasty change by the roadside.

The only mark of rank in vogue is the gold-embroidered velvet Kor'án case of a kaid, or some other adornment of personal caprice. The European drill instructors (harráb) have, however, invented for themselves gorgeous and effective adaptations of the native dress, which suit them wonderfully, and the Frenchmen wear Algerian uniform. Native officers make show of dignity in fanciful display of finery upon parade, but have no prestige in the eyes of the men, and there is a total absence of martial bearing throughout the service. All classes when on duty receive rations or their equivalent, called mônah, and an additional sum, which varies according to rank, called zîádah, or supplement; such as three-halfpence daily for a foot-soldier, fourpence for a horseman, and up to a shilling or so a day for a commanding officer. The accoutrements and arms supplied are not infrequently sold to balance accounts.



Arms.

The arms with which these soldiers are furnished are extremely varied, including the home-made flint-lock of the untrained, self-equipped tribesmen, and the up-to-date repeating rifle of the European drilled regiments, to say nothing of the discarded Continental patterns between these extremes. Of late years the Moorish Government has made considerable purchases of guns in Europe, besides having received

many presents of this nature from foreign nations, the most acceptable form for a gift to a Moor. The ḥarrábà are armed with Martini-Henrys, and under Italian instructors European arms are now being manufactured in Fez. Inferior native swords have been to a great extent replaced by European blades, but the short, curved dagger, or ḳûmîya still survives in daily wear, although its blade may now be made in Germany.

Artillery.

The artillery or ṭubjiah—chiefly hereditary—are as unsatisfactory as any, and though small bodies of them are maintained in the various forts possessing cannon, they may be said never to practise, and seldom trouble to keep their expensive machines in condition; they have even been known to eat the oil provided for that purpose. It is to them that the European instructors chiefly direct their attention, but they find the task of training them a herculean one, though there is good stuff in the men, for the difficulties arise from their official surroundings. A corps of sappers and miners was established by one French officer, but it has long since come to grief. A certain number of young Moors have been sent to Gibraltar and elsewhere for training in arms, and some have been instructed in engineering at Chatham, or in the making of fire-arms in America; but though proving apt pupils, the powers they have acquired have mostly been wasted on their return to the slipshod ways of Morocco.

Military Music.

To be quite up to date, the Moorish army has been furnished with a band performing on foreign instruments, under the direction of foreign teachers, who have taught them a variety of national and

sentimental airs, the words of which, as recalled to the ear of the European, are often most incongruous. I have, for instance, heard them play before the late sultan's palace on the eve of his departure from Tangier, "We won't go home till morning," and kindred airs. Otherwise only a few kettle-drums and oboes are attached to each corps.

Commands are given in French or English, according to the language of the instructor, as an effectual hindrance to the employment of the better-drilled troops without European officers. Moorish regiments, named sometimes after the provinces from which they come, and sometimes after their leaders, are of varying strength. The ranks are sergeant (muḳaddam), captain (ráïs), centurion (ḳáïd el mîá), and colonel (ḳáïd ráḥà), each having a lieutenant (náïb); but a man may at will be appointed to either rank, raised or degraded, by the sultan, by his secretary for war, or by a superior officer. All males capable of bearing arms are liable for military service, and in time of war with a popular foe, especially with Nazarenes, there would be few able-bodied men, and few boys, who would not rush to the front, if only to plunder. The courage and fanaticism of the Moors will make them a difficult race to conquer, but their treachery and avarice will tell in the long run.

Rank.

CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION

SO much of the administration of Morocco is effected in camp, that it would be impossible to separate the military from the civil element. Some district is always in rebellion against over-taxation or oppressive officials, who are not infrequently put to death by the exasperated populace. At such times the length to which the "rebels" are permitted to run depends entirely on the occupation of the imperial troops in settling similar questions elsewhere, for too much suspicion is entertained at Court to permit of great authority falling into the hands of any one commander, and the sultan himself is the only general. Almost every year, in the month of May, when the tracks have dried after the rains, troops are collected from every quarter at the royal city in which the Court has passed the winter, a certain number being requisitioned from each governor, together with contributions and "presents." When the camp of many thousands is made up outside the walls, a start is ordered. The ultimate destination is kept closely secret, and is only to be guessed from preparations made along the road to any tribes just then rebellious, although even then a circuitous route may be chosen, several districts being chastised by the way.

Military Expeditions.

Merely for the collection of taxes such invasions have often to be resorted to, familiarly known as "eating up" the country, which is really what occurs, the rabble army passing over like a swarm of locusts, despoiling loyal and disloyal alike, plundering harvests (which begin about the end of May) and grain stores, abusing women and children, and burning their homes. Unless a sufficient force can be collected to withstand the army in some mountain defile, and to obtain terms, the men escape to sanctuary or hiding, and the women make a piteous appeal to the sultan for mercy. The artillery and certain other objects in the camp being considered sanctuary, a deputation of men introduced by the safe-conduct of some saint lay hold of the cannon while the conditions of peace are arranged. Usually these mean ámán, or pardon, on the payment of arrears and fines, with the acceptance of a new kaid or governor. A pitched battle is seldom heard of, the nearest approach to one being when shareefian forces arrayed against a rebel host—strongly intrenched as a rule—send parties of galloping horsemen as near as possible to the enemy's lines, there to fire a volley and return to reload and take breath, in the manner practised at "powder-play." Morocco possesses no "cavalry" in the full sense of the word, combined evolutions and action beyond that described being quite unknown. Whenever possible guns are discarded in favour of dagger and sword, but at this stage quarter is freely granted.

"Eating up" the Provinces.

Method of Fighting.

The tribesmen, though steadily arming themselves with European and American repeating rifles, smuggled in, notwithstanding the treaties, have as yet no cannon, while the sultan takes with him mountain batteries and machine guns under the direction of European officers, which render

him all-powerful. Though not common, battering rams have sometimes been employed by the tribesmen in besieging the Atlas forts, pieces of rock being slung in thongs of camel-hide at the end of tree-trunks suspended from frames.* During the last reign, however, dynamite was introduced to work desolation among tribal strongholds.

Photograph by R. J. Moss, Esq.

GATE OF FEZ, ADORNED WITH HUMAN HEADS ON SPIKES

Tax Gathering.

The collection of taxes, in which this horde is chiefly engaged, is based, not on a uniform scale, but on what expert blood-suckers think may possibly be extracted, although there are in theory certain limits. As far back as A.C. 1160 we read of a survey

* See RILEY'S *Narrative*, p. 253.

having been made by Abd el Mû'min, on which to fix a fair assessment. But the present system, if indeed it may be described as such, is for the provinces to be assessed at so much each, in proportion to what they have been known to produce, and for their governors or kaids to be entrusted with the collection, which they in like manner distribute over the districts under their jurisdiction, leaving the local sheïkhs to divide up their shares among the households in what proportion they will, each official collecting as much more than is demanded as may repay his trouble and prepare him for future demands. No one pays when he is asked or what he is asked, all pleading poverty, and many suffering imprisonment or even the lash to avoid establishing a precedent by too great a contribution at once, for the more readily the money is forthcoming the more is demanded. Everyone, therefore, not enjoying protection of some sort, conceals his wealth, and anyone who has a little money buries it; consequently, when an official falls his dwelling is ransacked, if not demolished, in search of treasure.

Exemptions.

The saints' shrines, mosque property, and other religious foundations and their inmates generally escape payment, and so do foreign protégés. The taxes to be paid by the latter are fixed by treaty.* Some tribes furnish horse-soldiers at the rate of one for so many households, and in other parts they replace army horses dying on their territory, in addition to providing food for all government servants or guests passing through. Kaids and others who desire the sultan's favour, especially if they have been in disgrace, will—Jacob-like—meet him when he comes their way with valuable presents. Such an offering, for instance, made some years ago by the

* The current Convention on this point was drawn up in 1887. See chapter xix.

Peace Offerings.

kaid of Gindáfi, consisted of 100 negroes, 100 negresses, 100 horses, 100 cows with their calves, 100 camels with their young, and two of his daughters, who with their father concluded the procession, which was well received. Thomassy[1] mentions a case in which a conquered tribe sent to the sultan thirty women tied together by their hair, with knives in their mouths, together with children carrying school tablets, and men with Ḳor'áns on their heads.* The extra tribute thus sent in, spontaneously, as it were, is sometimes of enormous value, and at every feast the kaids have either to come themselves or send their deputies with valuable offerings, which are presented at a state reception.

If a governor fails for some time to put in an appearance, he will be summoned without excuse, and if unable to satisfy the demands made upon him by the ministers and others concerned, he will either be cast into gaol and have his house demolished in search for hidden treasure, or he will be treated to corrosive

Retribution.

* Hay[2] speaks of the throat of a beautiful girl being cut before the sultan's tent in 1839, but though oxen and sheep are often thus sacrificed, it is almost certain that he is mistaken here, as also in mentioning the immolation of horses in this way. But to this note of mine a friend in a position to speak with some authority replies: "No. Hay was quite right; Berber tribes still make such human sacrifices occasionally. A case occurred at Sefrû only a few days ago, where a tribesman sacrificed his *daughter* in that way to obtain the protection of a tribe against his being arrested in respect of a debt he owed to a Jew. The man was for this flogged twice all round the town of Sefrû on a donkey, and cast into prison in irons. A tribe in Háïáïna, recently menaced by the Shareefian expedition now there, bound a woman, and were on the point of sacrificing her to the Ghaïáṭa to secure their assistance; but the Ghaïáṭa prevented the sacrifice, granted their request, and next day, by their help, the Shareefian force was beaten off, losing six men and thirty horses. One of my own servants, a Sanháji, assures me that he saw three women slaughtered all in a row at one time, some thirty years ago."

[1] p. 411. [2] p. 123.

sublimate or arsenic in tea.* At every feast some are sure to be at least incarcerated, so that while they are in office they make the most of their time.†

Oppression.

All sorts of pretexts and false charges are employed to bring the wealthy unprotected people within their grasp, and often such are even tortured to extort their riches from them, so that everyone who can do so secures by payment the protection of some high authority at Court, or that of a foreign

* Urquhart[1] says that during the time of Mohammed XVII. the Rabátîs killed and quartered their kaid, forcing the Jew butchers to offer the flesh for sale for three days, ticketed at 2 mûzûnas per lb., the people going to "cheapen" it. The sultan marched against them, but eventually came to terms. Later on, at the time at which he wrote (1848), when the Rabátîs disliked their kaid, they petitioned for his removal, which was granted, but the new one was also refused by them. So the sultan told them to choose one for themselves, which they did, but he being rejected, they chose a second, who was appointed.[2] But such petitions seldom succeed, and often bring dire vengeance on the petitioners' heads.

† An estimate of the income of a former báshá of Mogador, based on careful calculations, is appended to this chapter. It was furnished to me by a gentleman long resident in this country, who made it out with the assistance of an important native, a personal friend of the governor to whose receipts it refers. In addition to this he only received a nominal salary of a few pence a day from the sultan, appropriating all he could of his receipts, and living on them till the wazeers thought him "fat" enough, when he was called to court and "squeezed." This estimate would represent an annual income of some £2500, to which must be added all that could be squeezed out of wealthy Moors and Jews by throwing them into prison till they paid, the presents given by Europeans, etc., etc., which altogether makes a respectable sum. In addition to this, opportunities would often arise for grinding still more out of the poor people. Thus when the late sultan recovered from an illness, £176 was raised among the Moors of the town by a forced contribution of 8*s.* per head among certain classes, even when many did not possess that amount, and had to sell all they had to pay! Of this £30 was sent to the sultan.

When last in Mogador I was not disappointed to learn that this same governor, who in office had earned the appropriate nickname of "Father of Sugar-loaves," had exchanged the bench for the cell, and that again, after having secured his liberty and employment as policeman, he had been imprisoned for fresh misbehaviour.

[1] p. 291. [2] p. 267.

merchant, whose agents are protected by treaty from all unjust claims.* Besides all this irregular taxation, there are recognised gate dues (ṣŭnk), market taxes (miks), customs

A MOORISH GOVERNOR

Taxes.

duties (âáshûr), and gate tolls (ḥáfir), all collected by special officials, or sometimes farmed out. The Jews, too, officially known as dhimmîyà or tributaries, have their own contributions to make for the privilege of living in a Muslim land, which

* See chapter xix.

naturally includes exemption from military service, but the foreigners get off with customs duty alone. From what has been said it will be seen how utterly impossible it would be to calculate a Moorish budget. Provinces are often spoken of, but they have no fixed limits, the jurisdiction of this kaid or that being frequently curtailed or extended, and tribes deported from one end of the country to the other for disobedience, or to reduce their power. So all statistics in Morocco must mislead.

Local Officials.

The local officials engaged in this administration are not numerous. In the cities the kaid, or governor, is equally known as the báshá—a corruption of the Turkish "básh ághá," chief ruler—or the âámil—agent—and has under him a khalîfa, or lieutenant. To a newly-appointed kaid a royal letter is given, which he causes to be read in the mosques, if in a town, or to the assembled people out of doors, if in the country, and forthwith enters upon his duties. The usual hours for his court to be open are from 6 a.m. to 10, and from 3 p.m. to 6, a half holiday being taken on Friday mornings. The superintendents of customs and taxes are called ûmánà, "trusted ones" (sing. ámîn), but they have no jurisdiction. In all the towns there is an overseer of markets,* the mohtassib (sometimes vulgarly called the "mahtib"), whose task is to fix the prices of food, and to detect false weights and measures. Mosque property is in the care of a special official, the nádhir. Villages are administered by sheïkhs—elders—and each quarter of a city (haûmah) by a mukaddam, whose business it is to account for all that passes therein, and to judge in small matters. The principle of mutual responsibility is carried out to the full, the inhabitants of a village or district,

* Such as formerly existed also in England. See *Report of Royal Commission on Markets*, 19, 25, etc., and MRS. J. R. GREEN'S *English Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, vol. ii., pp. 33–40.

and even of the neighbouring shops in a street, being liable for any robbery or damage inflicted therein. Finally there are the common watchmen—ássássá—and mûállîn dáû—light-bearers—who, when not more definitely assisting burglars, enliven the night and warn thieves of their whereabouts by lusty cries to one another.*

Customs Administrators.

The only satisfactory officials in Morocco, as a rule, are those who have been drawn from the ranks of retired men of business—men whose palms no longer itch—whose knowledge of the world enables them to act with dignity and fairness, and whose intercourse with Europeans has removed their prejudices to a great extent. The Moorish method is to select from among such men those whose reputation is high, and to appoint them as administrators of customs, of whom there are several at every port. The towns from which they are chiefly drawn are Tetuan, Fez, Rabat and Marrákesh, these being the homes of the Moorish aristocracy. Mequinez and Salli men are apt to be rougher and more bigoted, and usually serve in other ways. None of the remaining coast towns carry with them pride of birth,

* While this chapter is in the press an instance has occurred in Tangier, reported in *Al-moghreb Al-aksa* thus :—"Last week the owner of a Moorish shop was astonished at finding, on opening the shop, that it had been completely pillaged during the night. There was a hole in the wall, through which, evidently, all the wares had been carried away. There was nothing left but a walking-stick. But this stick did not belong to the shop. It was, however, a remarkable object, which the shopkeeper had before seen more than once. It did not require much investigation, as there were many persons who knew the stick as that of the chief of the night guards. In a few minutes the report reached the báshá, who lost no time in sending his soldiers in search of the man. He was at once arrested and taken to the Ḳaṣbah, where the distinguished member of the honourable police body was unceremoniously placed under the rod of the law, with the result that he pleaded guilty, and is now one of the inmates of the Ḳaṣbah prison. This is not a case without precedent in Tangier, where, at different times, the police have been charged with similar robberies, and only shows the ever-increasing need of a complete reform in this important branch of the local administration."

for all are either modern, or have been too recently in foreign hands. It is seldom that two from the same town sit side by side on the same customs bench. For foreign payments these administrators serve as Moorish Government bankers, on whom orders are given at Court, and altogether they play a part not unlike, though far behind, that played by the excellent service under the Inspector-General of Chinese Imperial Customs. From among their number are selected the cream of Moorish officials, who are made governors, ambassadors, and trusted agents generally, and it would be a bright day for Morocco if this plan were more general. Foremost among them for many years stood Sid Háj Mohammed Torres, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in Tangier, a man beloved and respected by all who know him, old now, and at last set free from a post from which he tried to be released for years in vain. In spite of his important office he remains a comparatively poor man, and I used to visit one of his sons in a small grocer's shop, while his other son made shoes.

Character of Officials.

With the exception of this one class, Moorish officials neither bear nor deserve the best of characters. The worst are drawn from the ranks of the hereditary troops, most with a share of black blood in their veins, but with few of the redeeming negro qualities. Such men can seldom read or write, and their whole lives are spent in preying on the populace in one way or another, rising from irregular police to high authority, and sometimes falling from their lofty height as rapidly. In every way corrupt, and a curse to the land, these are the officials who earn such a bad name for all. They and their close allies, the ignorant caterers of religion, who make a living out of superstition, are the centres of obstruction in Morocco, and in them bigotry and retrogression are perpetually fostered. Travellers, and even residents, too often draw conclusions from dealing

with these officials, and with the low class of servants whom Europeans have spoiled, and then proceed to condemn the whole nation; but the common people are very different from them, and those who get to know these sympathetically cannot but be drawn towards them. Oppressed and down-trodden by those in power, they never have a chance; but they are wondrously long-suffering, and wait. Yet such is their low moral status, that the best of them deteriorate when placed in office.

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck

CAMP OF A GOVERNOR "ON CIRCUIT"

The Judgment-seat.

The governor, or his deputy, usually sits in some public place adjoining his residence—it may be on the door-step, or in the stable, or in a niche beside the city gate, to administer so-called justice. No one who hopes to win his case appears before the judge empty-handed, and if anything of importance be at stake, he will certainly make a private offer for a favourable judgment, payable in cash, while ordinary offerings chiefly consist of loaves of sugar, packets of candles, and chests of tea.

By way of summons it is sufficient for the complainant to request the defendant in the presence of witnesses to attend before such and such an authority, or to apply for a policeman to be sent to fetch him, which is done with little ceremony, unless he be a man of some position, whose retaliation might be feared. Sometimes a rich man bargains with the kaid for so much to imprison a foe on some concocted charge, if only that he has been overheard to curse God and the sultan; but the intended victim is occasionally able to turn the tables by a higher bid for the arrest of his rival. Swearing is freely resorted to on both sides in support of conflicting statements, but perjury is seldom punished. Indeed, in ordinary conversation, when a Moor introduces an oath it may be inferred that he is telling a lie. The only oaths which appear to be in any way binding are those sworn specially before the ḳáḍi on some portion of the Ḳor'án, or when a man declares himself divorced from his wife if what he alleges be untrue. I have, nevertheless, known a case in which a man swore that he would be triply divorced—meaning that he could not take his wife back till she had been married to and divorced by another—which came to pass when it was found that he had lied all the time.

Swearing.

The ḳáḍi is the religious judge, taking cognizance of civil cases which can be decided by the Ḳor'án or the Commentaries, or in which documents are in dispute, so that while it is quite unnecessary for the kaid to be able even to read, the ḳáḍi is almost always chosen for his erudition. The distinction drawn in most countries between civil and criminal cases is not known here.* As

* A notable instance of this is to be seen in the treaty of Madrid, the Arabic original of which is alone recognised by the Moorish Government, as being that signed for the sultan. Literally translated, this says in Clause 5: "They [the foreign representatives] have no right to employ even one

Classification of Cases.

a general statement, it may suffice to say that the kaid tries cases of makhzan, *i.e.*, those which affect public order, and the maintenance of the peace, while the ḳáḍi tries those of the shraâ, *i.e.*, legal disputes—the shraâ being literally the law as given in the Ḳor'án—which includes all questions of property, inheritance, marriage, divorce, contracts, etc. Under the head of makhzan comes the settlement of all disturbances among the people, cases of assault or fighting, robbery (including house-breaking, cattle-stealing, highway robbery, etc.), and all other acts of violence. These are punishable by beating or imprisonment, with or without fetters, and there is no limit to the length of time for which a man may be imprisoned by the simple order of the kaid, who seldom even names the term of the sentence. The police, or makháznîyah, who in time of war form a species of militia, are under the authority of the kaid, whose powers are on the whole pretty considerable. His decisions, or those of his khalîfa, are only verbal, and are executed as soon as pronounced, no records being kept. In a case of murder, robbery or assault, for which the punishment would be death, the documents, attested by the signatures of a specified number of witnesses, are sent to the sultan, who sends them back authorising the ḳáḍi to give a decision on the

Moorish subject against whom there is a claim (*daâwah*)"; and further on: "No protection shall be given to anyone who is under prosecution (*jarîmah*) before the sentence is given by the authorities of the country." As nearly as it can be translated, *daâwah sharâîah* (or, as it is more commonly called, *daâwah* only) means a civil case, and *jarîmah* a criminal one. In the English text of the treaty (translated from the French original) the sentences quoted above read: "They shall not be permitted to employ any subject of Morocco who is under prosecution," and, "The right of protection shall not be exercised towards persons under prosecution for an offence or crime," etc. From this the Moors argue, with a good show of right, that no one under prosecution, whether the suit be civil or criminal, can be protected by a foreign Power, the fact being that they do not know the distinction between them that we do, and that according to their copy of the treaty, both civil and criminal cases prevent protection.

case, and pass his verdict on to the báshá for execution, whether it be to behead the prisoner, or only to cut off a hand, an ear, or other member of his body.

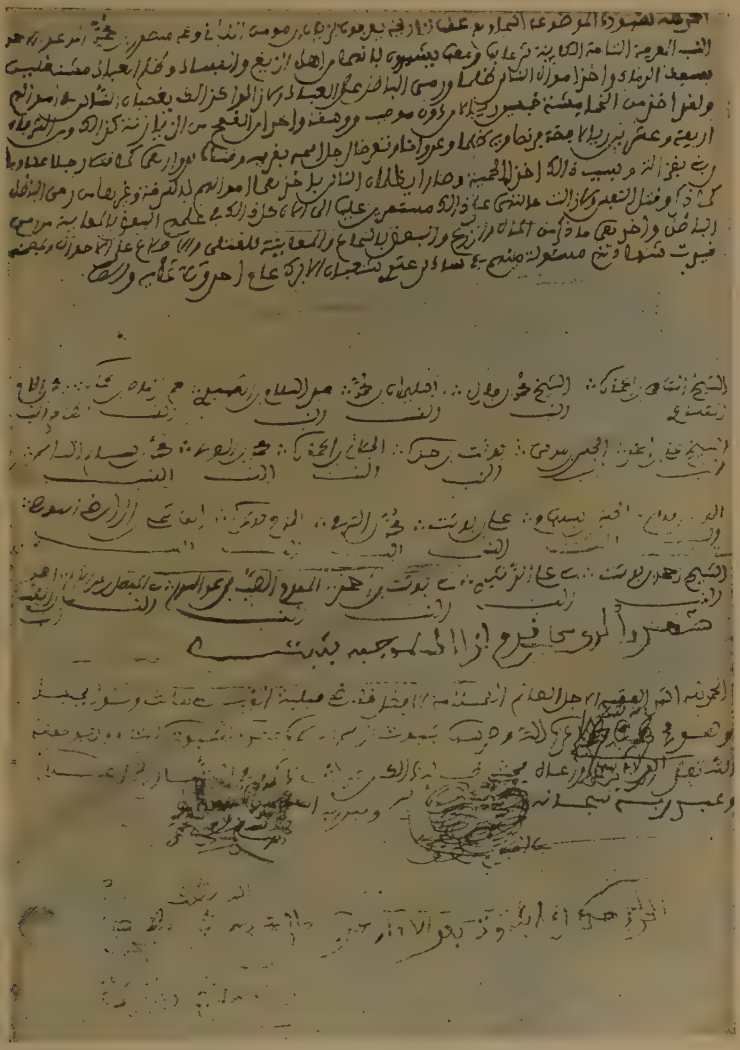
Judicial Procedure.

In the ḳáḍi's court, which is much the more formal, waḳîls, or attorneys, are employed, the documents being drawn up by notaries public or âdûl (sing. âdel, *i.e.*, "just one"), whose signatures alone are recognised, but if to be used elsewhere they must be certified by the local ḳáḍi. There is much more hope of justice in these courts,* and the ḳáḍi receives a regular sum in proportion to the value of the matter in dispute, as well as a fee of about 6*d.* for signing documents, one of his duties being to register marriages. His decisions must always be in writing. His officers, or áâwán, literally "assistants," have the power to arrest any whom he finds guilty, and to take them to the common prison. These men have no distinctive dress, as the makháznîyah have. When the ḳáḍi sends a man to prison it can only be for three days, unless in pursuance of a decree given in writing, fixing the length of his imprisonment. He cannot have a man put in irons. In practice almost any important official, or even private individual of influence, can send an unprotected Moor to prison without trial, the incarceration being on his sole authority. Foreign officials have frequently availed themselves of this convenient and obliging laxness.

At the end of the three days the prisoner can send a

* As an instance of Moorish justice, Ez-Zaïáni tells how in 1758 the ḳáḍi of Marrákesh, being accused of giving unreasonable verdicts, the sultan sent a learned shareef and several lawyers to attend his court. When a decision was given without consulting them the shareef pointed out its error, saying, "The words of a ḳáḍi carry further than those of a lawyer." The sultan upheld the shareef's decision, and dismissed the ḳáḍi, appropriating all his goods, but giving him $1000 to go to Mekkah, on his return from which he was reinstated, but with assessors.[1]

[1] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 133.



A MOORISH NOTARIAL DOCUMENT

Much reduced

(Statement of Claim attested by the "signatures" of two notaries and a kádi.)

The Ḳádi's Court. wakîl, of whom there are several attached to the court, to ascertain the sentence or to get him liberated. If justice be refused he may appeal to the sultan. Anybody may be sent as a wakîl, but the ḳádi may refuse to accept the first and second sent, on the ground of incompetency to act as such, or for some other reason, but he must accept the third. He can only object before the case is heard; after it has commenced he cannot order a change of attorney. His court is usually open from 9 to 11 in the morning, and 3 to 6 in the afternoon. He can only leave a khalîfa to hear the cases when he is sick or absent, not when still able to do so himself, as the báshá can. Both his court and the báshá's are public. Although Moorish subjects have nominally the option of an appeal to the sultan from the decisions of all authorities, in reality this affords them but slight protection. It is very difficult for a poor man to get to the sultan, and if he does succeed in getting near enough, as His Majesty passes to mosque some Friday, to throw himself in the way and crave justice, even though the sultan stop and promise to attend to his case it is very rarely that any good comes of all his efforts, and in all probability his last state is worse than his first.

Public Trials. The summary jurisdiction of the kaids affords some striking scenes. Picture a reclining official supported by cushions on a raised dais in an archway. Before him an excited group of litigants and witnesses are all attempting to be heard at once, contradicting one another, abusing one another, uttering volleys of oaths, gesticulating wildly as they crouch on the ground, or excitedly rise with declamation and protests, hardly pausing when the judge speaks; they may all be hurried off to prison to reflect together; there are no formalities to intervene, and a word from the governor puts any man in or out. Often thrashings are inflicted,

brutal flagellation with a rope or stick on the bare back of a victim held face downwards by four men, or on the soles of the feet tied to a short pole. Women are sometimes flogged in this last manner, being thrown back seated in a basket tightly tied round the waist.

Bastinado.

Hundreds of lashes are often inflicted, at once or at intervals, the sufferer being bucketed to restore animation, or carried, faint from pain and loss of blood, to the comfortless gaol. Flogging is specially employed to extract information as to hidden treasure, or to extort money. In the prisons, which are reeking, unhealthy courtyards or cellars, without any furniture or even a supply of water, usually overcrowded, many are thrust into ankle, wrist or neck rings of heavy iron. The latter are reserved for special cases, unless on the march, when they are common to all, a number of them being threaded on to a heavy chain. This being riveted at the ends, if one dies, or even falls sick by the way, his head is cut off to release his body, and is brought into town to show that he has not escaped. Such heads, as well as those of rebels killed in battle, are pickled by the first Jews on whom hands can be laid,* if the distance to go be great, to preserve them, just as formerly used to be done in England.† In the towns there is a separate prison for women, chiefly those caught on the streets, in charge of an ârîfah or wise woman, where they are not much worse off than at home.

Prisons.

* In the towns this task falls to the Jewish cobblers, who have also to affix the heads above the city gates.

† The English custom was to "parboyl them with bay-salt and cumminseed: that to keep them from putrefaction, and this to keep off the fowls from seizing on them." This was done in Newgate Gaol in 1661.[1]

[1] *Life of Thomas Ellwood*, 1714, p. 191.

Tortures.

Other tortures, which depend on individual caprice, are frequently resorted to, such as starvation in underground granaries, cutting off a hand or an ear, or gouging out an eye for theft; bastinadoing round the town mounted, facing backwards, on a donkey; or filling the hand with salt and binding the doubled fingers with raw hide, leaving it so till the nails grow into the palms.* Many other tortures might be mentioned, such as the "wooden shirt" lined with spikes, but they are very rarely employed, and their enumeration would only convey a false idea of Moorish cruelty. The terrible deeds of a bygone age, which make the pages of their history so black, are seldom approached by the Moors of these days, and they are better forgotten. Though wholesale butchery, as has been seen, too often attends the military expeditions of the Court, and many lives are wantonly taken, execution as a punishment is seldom now resorted to, Mulai el Ḥasan, with whom in time of peace the authorisation lay, having been particularly averse to signing death-warrants. The *lex talionis*—"an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"[1]—is, however, still in force, and adultery, when discovered in the country, is often paid for by the slaughter of the

* "A further iniquitous and diabolical order arrived from the Moorish Court to the effect that thirteen of the Raḥámna tribe, now in prison [in Rabat] were to have 2000 lashes and their hands cut open. Early on the morning of the 21st April the diabolical work began. None of the men were able to stand more than 1200 lashes, having been left unconscious and almost dead. Then a native doctor was brought, and their hands cut up between the fingers with a deep, crucial incision in the palm of the hand. These wounds were filled with salt, camphor, etc., and the hand then closed and sewn over with wet sheepskin, which, when it dries, contracts, so that when removed the hand is a useless round ball. This punishment is frequently meted out to those who mutiny in prison, or who are caught escaping."[2]

[1] Ḳor'án, S. v., v. 49.

[2] Dr. KERR, "Central Morocco Mission Report for 1897," p. 4.

guilty parties, though the price of blood, fidá et-tár, may be accepted.[1] Nevertheless, the vendetta (ṭolb, or ḳiṣáṣ) is still a recognised duty, for life is held cheap, and blood flows freely in Morocco, the "happy dominions" of its official documents.

[1] *Mishkát*, bk. xiv.

POWDER-HORN AND SHOT-POUCHES

ESTIMATED MONTHLY INCOME OF A GOVERNOR OF MOGADOR

Receipts from bribes, etc., in sugar, from 25 to 30 loaves a day, say 25 loaves for 30 days, at 2*s.* per loaf	£75	0
The right of selling tobacco, kîf, etc., within the walls	40	0
Amounts paid by well-to-do prisoners, such as kaids and others kept at the sultan's pleasure, for diminishing the weight of their irons, to allow food to be brought in, to receive less flogging, to be allowed conveniences in prison, etc., etc.	40	0
Share in the alms boxes at the saints' houses in the town, including all collected at the tomb of the patron saint of the town	1	12
Ditto, from the neighbouring villages	1	12
Tax paid by the fishermen	1	12
,, ,, lightermen	1	4
,, ,, captains of native boats	1	12
,, ,, licensed women	6	0
,, ,, scribes, notaries, etc.	1	8
,, ,, couriers	1	4
,, ,, police of the town	3	0
,, ,, ,, ,, when attending foreigners in or out of the town	3	0
,, ,, night guard, numbering 25 nightly	1	0
,, ,, guard of shops on the market, etc.	0	12
,, ,, native guilds, bakers, butchers, grocers, etc., etc.	2	0
,, ,, skilled workmen, carpenters, masons, washermen, labourers, etc.	2	0
,, ,, cowherd of the town	0	12
,, ,, widows and orphans on inheriting property, and to speak in their favour	0	16
,, ,, fandaks (bazaars and caravan-sarais) of the town	1	12
,, ,, camels and mules bringing provisions in from the country	1	4
,, ,, grain measurers and porters at the markets	0	12
,, ,, tanneries and ovens	0	16
,, ,, country people coming to reside in the town	2	0
,, ,, serpent charmers, etc.	0	12
,, ,, "veterinary surgeons" of the market, and the fortune tellers	0	8
Fines paid for throwing filth into the streets, which are already so full that they spread disease everywhere	1	4
Revenue from various other sources	12	0
Presents received at feasts, etc.	6	0
Total	£210	12

Part II.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

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CHAPTER THE TWELFTH

EUROPEANS IN THE MOORISH SERVICE

IN common with most Oriental countries, Morocco has always possessed attractions for a certain class of restless souls desirous of fame or adventure. The stories of what befell those who from time to time left Europe to enter the Moorish service are replete with incidents which should provide the modern troubadour, the novelist, with ample store of matter for most interesting pages. Here, however, space will not permit more than a passing indication of the part that Europeans—either of their own free will or, in times past, fleeing from justice—have played in making Moorish history, apart from their share in its piracy.

Early Adventurers.

In the early days of intercourse with Europe the distinction between East and West was much less marked than we can easily imagine; and it is less astonishing that soldiers of fortune from across the Straits should have been willing to enrol themselves beneath the banner of the Moor, and that with papal sanction.* Pope Innocent IV., who introduced the cardinal's red hat, wrote from Lyons to the ameer of Morocco, 'Ali IV. (Es-Sâïd el Moâtaḍîd), on behalf of the Christian mercenaries in his service. To him he promised the support of his ecclesiastical authority in return for

Intervention of the Pope.

1246.

* See chapter xv., p. 314.

kindness shown to them, asking if the mercenaries might not be entrusted with certain fortified towns or forts, in which they might at any time protect themselves or leave their wives and families while fighting the ameer's
1251. foes.[1] And the same pope addressed 'Ali's successor, 'Omar I. (el Mortaḍà), to similar effect, but added the threat that if his request were not acceded to, he would have to prohibit Christians from entering his service.[2] But the Moorish ameers were not altogether so naïve as they were supposed to be; and no result appears to have followed either appeal or threat. Papal
1290. approval continued, nevertheless, for Nicholas IV. addressed a letter to the knights and men-at-arms in service in Morocco, Tlemçen, and Tunis, urging them to lead a Christian life among Mohammedans.[3]

Other documentary evidence also shows that the Christian princes of those days had no greater objections than the popes to their subjects fighting for the Moors and
1388. other "infidels."[4] Juan I. of Aragon authorised Gilbert Rovira de Tolosa to leave for Fez with fifty men-at-arms to take part in the war against the "Saracens," or eastern Muslimeen,*[5] and Chaucer's Knight, of the famous "Tales," it will be remembered, had served in Algiers and Tlemçen. Ibn Khaldûn declares that these foreigners were employed because the natives could not stand firm on the field of battle, which is undoubtedly the real explanation. 'Abd el Wáḥḥîd says that the militia or *jund*, as distinguished from native levies, included Arabs, Turks, Spaniards, Greeks, and tribes won over from the enemy.[7] Mas Latrie suggests that till the end of the twelfth century

Christian Mercenaries.

* But he also approved the conveyance of "decem mulieres publicas ad servitium eorundem."[6]

[1] Mas Latrie, *Traités*, part ii., p. 14. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 16. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[4] *Ibid.*, *Relations*, p. 269. See also Tyrwhitt and Leland.
[5] *Ibid.*, *Traités*, Suppl., p. 69. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 248. [7] Ez-Zaiáni, p. 34.

these foreign troops were perhaps to some extent recruited from the Shâbáni, the Christian tribe formed by Yâḳûb el Manṣûr with captives brought from Spain,* or possibly from the remains of native Christian tribes, but most facts of that period are so misty that nothing can be said with certainty as to the latter supposition. And as half a century had not elapsed between the settlement of the Alarcos captives and the first papal letter referred to, it is quite probable his holiness had them and their children as much in view as the subsequent free arrivals.

Already, when the first Franciscan missionaries came,
1214. they found a Christian prince the ameer's general, Pedro, brother of Alfonso II. of Portugal.[1]
1232. With the support of a Christian militia numbering ten or twelve thousand, under Francyl their general, Ḥabîba, Christian wife of the Muwáḥḥadi ameer Idrees III. (el Mámûn), was able to proclaim her son Rasheed I. at Ceuta, and to see him enthroned at Marrákesh.[2] These
1228. were Castilians furnished by Fernando III. on condition that El Mámûn should cede ten strongholds on his frontier to Castille, that he should build a church at Marrákesh in which they might freely worship, with bells to sound the hours of prayer, and also that they should not be permitted to become Mohammedans.[3] About the same time Yaghmorasan, founder of the dynasty of 'Abd el
1236. Wáḥad in Tlemçen, employed 2000 European mercenaries, the chief of whom attempted his life. Later,
1274. Yâḳûb II.—ameer of the rival house of Beni Marîn, supplanters of the Muwáḥḥadîs—went himself to Barcelona to obtain assistance from Jaime I. of Aragon and Majorca in his attack upon his rival's fortress of Ceuta, which Jaime granted to the extent of ten ships and

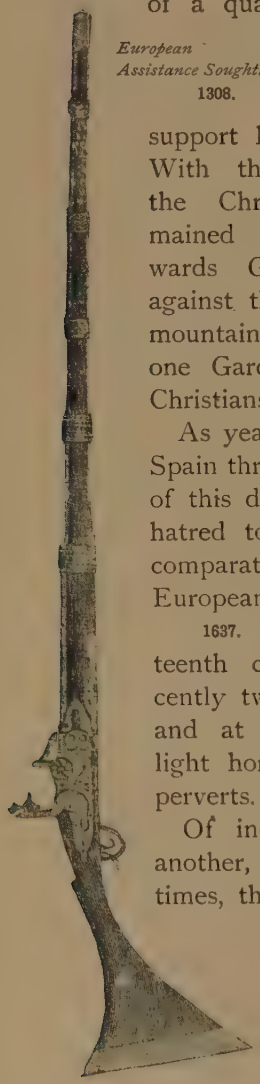
* See chapter v., p. 80.

[1] Castellanos. [2] Mas Latrie, *Relations*, pp. 228 and 267.
[3] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 356.

500 knights.[1] As general, Yâḳûb had Alfonso de Guzman of San Lucar, who had entered his service in consequence of a quarrel with the king of Castille.[2] Abu Thábit 'Amr sought help against Granáda from Jaime II. of Castille, who subsequently sent troops to support his brother and successor, Sulaïmán I. With this assistance Ceuta was taken, and the Christian cavalry, under Gonsalvo, remained with the Moors.[3] Two years afterwards Gonsalvo and the wazeer conspired against the ameer, and both had to flee to the mountains.[4] En-Náṣiri speaks a little later of one Garcia, son of Antonio, as kaid of the Christians.[5]

European Assistance Sought.

1308.



As years rolled on, when after a weary struggle Spain threw off the Moorish yoke, all intercourse of this description ceased, and fierce inquisitorial hatred took its place. It is not, therefore, till comparatively modern times that we again find Europeans fighting by the side of the Moors.

1637. Père Dan tells us, early in the seventeenth century, that there had been till recently two thousand renegades in Moorish pay, and at one time as many as five thousand light horse and two thousand men-of-arms, all perverts.

Of individual volunteers, from one cause or another, there were doubtless a number at all times, though no account is here taken of the captives and forced renegades. Such a

[1] Mas Latrie, *Traités*, part ii., p. 285.
[2] *Ibid.*, *Relations*, p. 267. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 556.
[5] vol. ii., p. 123. For references to these mercenaries, see also En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., pp. 5–8, 16, 46, 49, 50, 80, and 122.

English Adventurers. volunteer was Captain John Smith, of Virginian fame, who appears to have had this idea in
1604 his head when his wanderings brought him to Saffi, but after a visit to Marrákesh he returned to England, because he found here "perfidious, treacherous, and bloody murthers rather than warre."[1] Soon after-
1637. wards Englishmen served in Morocco under Admiral Rainsborough,* not indeed as mercenaries, but

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck

MOORISH INFANTRY

as auxiliaries furnished by Charles I. of England to Mulai Zîdán against the Morisco republic of Salli. Captain Giffard was engaged for 25*s.* a day and supplies, and was presented with a sword and cloak which Zîdán's father had received from Queen Elizabeth. Several military captains served under him at 12*s.* a day, ten sea captains at 4*s.*, the common soldiers to have "12 pence

* Full details of this expedition will be found at the Record Office; see Calendar of State Papers, vols. 1636–1638, and Bibliography, 2219 and 2220.

[1] *Travels*, p. 877.

truly paid them." Of two hundred volunteers with thirty
1607. field pieces most were lost in battle, Giffard refusing to flee when Zîdán sent him a horse.[1]

Captain John Smith had found another class of foreigners established in Morocco, to be mentioned in this connection as among those who received wages from the ameers. To quote the Captain's own words: "In all his [Aḥmad el Manṣûr's] kingdome were so few good artificers that hee entertained from England gold-smiths, plummers, carvers and polishers of stone, and watch-makers:* so much hee delighted in the reformation of workmanship: hee allowed each of them ten shillings a day standing fee, linnen, woollen, silkes and what they would for diet and apparell, and custome free to transport or import what they would,"[2] from which it is evident that there were "good old times" for Europeans even in Morocco.

Artificers. Imported.

This class of labour seems to have been in demand at intervals under various reigns, though it is to be feared that the good fortune of the foreign employés never again reached the high-water mark of Captain Smith's experience until the enlightened Sidi Mohammed XVII. began to surround himself with Europeans of all sorts, skilled in various
1757. arts. Some of them were sent by their respective governments, principally carpenters, architects, painters, masons and gardeners from Sweden and Denmark; others — notably eight hundred Portuguese and Spanish, and two hundred and fifty French—were renegades, mostly deserters; and from among these he took the

Innovations of Mohammed XVII.

* Felipe II. of Spain, the builder of the Escorial, notwithstanding his hatred of Moriscos, Jews, and Protestants, sent painters to the Moorish Court at this time.[3]

[1] Ro. C., chap. xv. [2] Mas Latrie, p. 871.
[3] Ant. Pons, *Viaje de España*, vol. i., letter ii.

garrison of his new town of Mogador.[1] His life is said to have once been saved by these men, so that in them he reposed a special trust. One renegade, Kaid Drees, was employed to draw up a scheme for a Court after the French style, on which that of Morocco was to some extent remodelled.[2] In this reign also we find one 'Omar, a Scotchman, commanding a pirate vessel.[3]

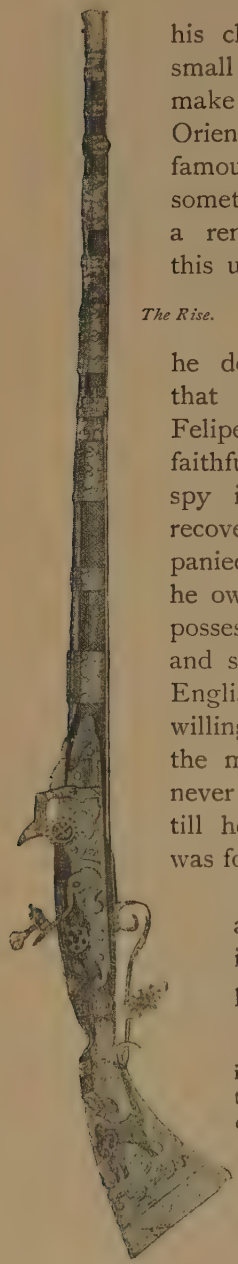
Ripperda.

Among the many interesting pages which the records of Moroccan history unfold, not one is more romantic or replete with adventure than the story of the great Duke of Ripperda. By birth a noble of Holland, he represented that country at the Spanish Court. By adoption a subject and grandee of Spain, he became its Prime Minister under Felipe V. Overthrown for his habitual deception of the Government, he was imprisoned, but escaped to England, where he chartered a vessel for Morocco, and thereupon entered the service of 'Abd Allah V., to whom he became wazeer and general. By birth and education a Romanist, he became successively from policy a Protestant, a Romanist, and a Mohammedan; then the would-be founder of a new religion. Yet he died a Romanist in his retreat at Tetuan—though buried as a Moor—and left on record a career without a parallel. A more unprincipled, astute impostor was never equipped at a Jesuit college, or one who more fully practised Jesuit doctrines.

A Dutch Grand Wazeer. 1732.

With the hope of satisfying not only his ambition, but also his thirst for vengeance on the Spaniards, this wonderful man set sail for the Barbary coast, deluded, like so many others, by reports of wealth and importance. Of the former Ripperda appears to have had no need, since, besides possessing estates in Holland, he had a happy faculty for making money anywhere. To his protection of the Jews and

[1] THOMASSY, p. 303. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 302. [3] BROWN on PELLOW, p. 32.



his choice of them as his agents he owed no small part of the power whereby he was able to make that brave show which invariably awes the Oriental. With the recommendation of the famous 'Abd el Káder Perez, "admiral" and sometimes ambassador to Europe, supported by a renegade "of kidney like unto his own,"* this unscrupulous adventurer soon made his way at the Moorish Court, till it was virtually in his power. Right and left he dealt his bounty and his smiles, declaring that his only foe was the foe of the Moors, Felipe. He was attended throughout by a faithful valet who ultimately lost his life as a spy in Ceuta (which Ripperda attempted to recover from the Spaniards), and was accompanied always by the "fair Castilian," to whom he owed his escape from prison in Segovia. He possessed the power of making faithful friends, and surrounded himself with a guard of twenty English, Dutch and French renegades, who were willing to die for him. Having won to his side the mother of the sultan, that crafty monarch never swerved in his attachment to Ripperda till he was deserted in his hour of need, and was for the last time dethroned.

The Rise.

A martyr to gout, Ripperda was yet able to reorganise the army, and to lead it in person against Ceuta and O'ran. He punished with death any officer who hesi-

* "A monk, but a scandalous debauchee, who, finding it impossible to reside among Catholics, flying to England, turned Protestant; but not having found his account in his change of religion, fled hither and turned Mohammedan."[1]

[1] *Ripperda's Memoirs.*

A Strong Hand.

tated in the discharge of his orders, and set up gallows around his camp, the which he "loaded plentifully with such as were guilty of plundering, defrauding, or insulting the country people," visiting the outposts every day in person, though he had to be set on his horse and removed like a child. As strong a hand had not been felt in Morocco since Mulai Ismâïl died, for he knew how to make every man whom he met believe that he was serving his own interest by serving him, the secret, perhaps, of all his success.

Meanwhile, by means of the Jews, who were also his spies, he carried on an extensive trade, preserving always the greater portion of his wealth in England or Holland.

The Fall.

But having persuaded Mulai 'Abd Allah to raise supplies by debasing the coin, the country became so impoverished by this and the civil war that the people could stand it no longer, and overthrew both sultan and minister. The duke-báshá then retired to Tetuan, later to Tangier, which he fortified against the incoming sultan, but first turned back his troops, and then made peace with their master with money. As if his projects hitherto had not been remarkable enough, the next was to establish a new religion to include Jews, Muslimîn and Christians. To its principles this celebrated turn-coat certainly conformed—a fitting task, surely, for so consistent an opportunist. Sickness at last overcame him, and having

1737. formed the resolution, to use the quaint account of his biographer, "of dying like a man of honour and good sense, that is, like a Christian," he sent to Mequinez for a priest, from whom he received absolution, and soon after died.*

* A word must needs be said of his anonymous biographer, whose record, although confined to his later years—from 1715—is too accurate and detailed not to have been largely based on the duke's own reminiscences, although compiled in so free a narrative style as to read like romance. Suspicion points to 'Ali, the renegade monk, as its author, but if all the state documents

During the present century there has always been a small number of Europeans in the Moorish service, but the proportion of renegades among them has continually diminished.* Gråberg estimated the total of the foreign residents at only five hundred, of whom two hundred were renegades, and at that time Christians were not allowed except in Tangier, Tetuan, Laraiche and Mogador.†[1] They are now to be numbered only by tens, and are seldom encountered. Of late years but two or three figures stand out from those unenviable ranks, such as Count Joseph de Saulty,[2] who, having eloped in his youth with his commandant's wife from Algeria, became military adviser to the sultan. He was discovered an old man in the guise of a Moor, "silent and sad-eyed, supported by two attendants, contemplating a uniform with which in bygone days he was very familiar.'[3]

Renegade Employees.

1834.

1877.

This uniform was worn by the French officers who, as a military mission, were "placed at the sultan's disposal"—in other words, forced upon him—by their Government, jealous of the influence of an ex-English officer, Kaid Maclean, who, without changing his religion, has been for many years military adviser and

Foreign Military Missions.

quoted are genuine, some other hand must have finally rounded off the work, which is, moreover, in excellent English. It is strange, too, that so impartial a record should have appeared as early as 1740, only three years after the death of one of the most remarkable figures of his time in European as well as in Moorish history, so it is possible that fiction may be here largely mingled with fact. See also MANER, *Historia del Duque de Ripperda*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1896; and MOORE, *Lives of Cardinal Alberoni, the Duke of Ripperda, and the Marquis of Pombal*, 2nd ed., London, 1814.

* Lieutenant-Colonel Jardine, who was placed at the disposal of the Moors by the British in 1789, and Joachim Gatell, a Spaniard, who in 1861 was employed by the Moors, but who "deserted in lieu of leave," have both left interesting records, that of the latter, dealing with Sûs, being of real value.

† Scott says there were in his time, a few years later, some 600 French and Spanish renegades, who had escaped from prison, and had found a place in the sultan's bodyguard, or had been sent to Agurai, near Mequinez.[4]

[1] p. 68. [2] MARTINIÈRE, p 320. [3] BROWN on PELLOW, p. 45. [4] p. 33.

KAID MACLEAN ON PARADE

Drawn by R. Caton Woodville

instructor at the Moorish Court. Since then Spaniards and Italians have followed suit with military missions, the former remaining a short time only, but the latter being

still in charge of the arsenal at Fez. Till within the last few years a Scotch drill-instructor and a Gibraltarian engineer were employed in Tangier with the rank of kaid, and a German military engineer has for several years been engaged in building batteries for Krupp guns at Rabat. In addition to these officers, the little steamers owned by the Moors have had a succession of foreign crews, but the picturesque days of Moorish service are over, and the only noticeable features at the present time consist in arrears of pay and petty interferences.

CHAPTER THE THIRTEENTH

THE SALLI ROVERS

WHO has not heard of the rovers of Salli? Yet how few have any idea what they really were! Some picturesque notions, doubtless, exist in most minds, some romantic fancy resembling that which casts a halo over brigands and vikings, which it were almost a crime to dispel—an ungrateful task truly, but without alternative.* Their fame is even preserved by the popular name bestowed on the oceanic medusa—vulgarly sea-blubber—*Velella*, known as the "Sallee-man," companion to the *Phrysalia pelagica*, known as the "Portuguese Man-of-war."† Explain it as we may, it is a remarkable fact that our highest naval title‡

Undeserved Glamour.

* The name "pirate" does not appear to have originally meant a high-sea thief, for among the ancient Danes it was an honourable title borne by princes and captains of vessels, as was the case in King Alfred's navy, according to Bishop Ascher.[1] The word "corsair" is evidently from the Arabic ḳarṣan, a pirate (cruiser for prey), though attributed by some to the Latin currere "to run" (*cf.* "courser" and "cruiser.") A more common name in Morocco is gházi (*pl.* ghuzát), whence ghazawát "raids," especially applied to those directed against infidels.

† Excellent descriptions of the former ship-like creature are given by Professor Jones in his *Natural History of Animals*, vol. i., p. 189; and of the latter by Mr. P. H. Gosse in his *Year at the Sea-shore*," ch. x., which contains also a beautiful coloured drawing of it. (Pl. 28.) See also Gosse's *Life*, p. 89.

‡ Spelled "Ammiral" by Milton (*Par. Lost*, bk. i., l. 294). *Cf.* Arsenal, from Dár eṣ-ṣanâ, "House of Industry."

[1] DAN, p. 9.

to-day is only a corruption of the Arabic for "Chief of the Sea"—Ameer el Bahr.

Three centuries ago, and till within a century, these rovers were the terror of our merchantmen, especially at the time when our ancestors were engaged in laying the foundations of our present commerce, when they were succeeding Spaniards, Dutch and Portuguese as colonisers and explorers. Although long before that time the Moorish pirates had become adepts in way-laying and mastering helpless craft, it was not until the Stuart and the early Hanoverian periods that English ships became a special prey. Then, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scarcely a month passed in the shipping season without captures being made from every maritime nation and city of Europe; and the large proportion of these that were English brought the name of the rovers home to our country as nothing else could have done. It was worse than news of death itself to learn that loved ones were enslaved in Barbary; yet many hundreds had to suffer this suspense, augmented by the awful tales of those who did return.

Period.

There is an unfortunate scarcity of data concerning the origin of Moorish piracy. Some have attributed it to the vengeance of the Moors expelled from Spain; but as they had never been sailors, they could not have at once become pirates. Moreover, there is evidence that before their expulsion the rovers of Salli—ever foremost in this business—had long swept the seas. Naval expeditions were indeed sent forth against Spain, but that was rather the work of allies in Morocco, who already possessed the art and means, though they were, no doubt, reinforced by the homeless arrivals.

Suggested Origin.

To the Moor, all who are not Jews or Muslims are Christians—common enemies supposed to be allied; so the dividing line between naval warfare and piracy was

A SALLI ROVER IN PURSUIT
(From the Dutch edition of Dan, 1684)

not very clearly defined, and it is doubtful whether the Moors ever attempted such a distinction. In this they were not very unlike the European nations of those days. Privateering was then part of orthodox naval tactics, and every Mediterranean seaport had its own buccaneers who served themselves or the State, according to which paid best, being one day fêted as defending heroes, and the next day hung at the yard-arm as thieves, for in turn they were both. The distinguishing feature of the Moorish and other Barbary pirates was their continued existence after their profession had been put an end to in Europe. All that can be said against them could probably also be said against each State of southern Europe at an earlier date.

European Rivals.

Beyond a doubt the Moors originally owed nearly all they knew of sea warfare to Europeans, from whom at a later period they almost exclusively obtained, not only their arms, but also their vessels. Indeed, foreigners were often caused to serve as officers on board the pirate vessels against their will, as in the case of John Dunton, who, when master and pilot of a "Salli man-of-war," ran her to the Isle of Wight. He was appointed to the *Leopard*, one of the English fleet sent to bombard Salli.[1]

1637.

It has even been asserted by a most competent contemporaneous authority—Captain John Smith, the president and planter of Virginia, who was as intimate as anyone with that class of sailors—that the Moorish pirates were taught their trade by the pirates of our own land.* Of these latter the same

English Instructors.

* Another interesting fact related by Captain Smith is that Macaulay's "gallant merchantman" which sighted the Armada, bringing the news "full sail to Plymouth Bay" was none other than the vessel of a well-known pirate who received a pardon for this service.

[1] *A true Journal of the Salli Fleet*, by JOHN DUNTON, in a *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. 1745, vol. ii., p. 491. (B. Mus. 456, fol. 14.)

writer declares it to have been in his time "incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge."* He further records that under the peaceful reign of James I., "because they grew hatefull to all Christian princes, they retired to Barbary, where, though there be not many good harbours but Tunis, Argier, Sally, Marmora, and Tituane, there are many convenient rodes, for their best harbours are possessed by the Spaniards.

"Ward,† a poore English sailor, and Dansker, a Dutchman,‡ made first here their marts, when the Moores knew scarce how to saile a ship: Bishop was ancient, and did little hurt, but Easton got so much as made himselfe a marquesse in Savoy, and Ward lived like a Bashaw in Barbary; they were the first that taught the Moores to be men of warre . . . till they became so disjoynted, disordered, debawched, and miserable, that the Turks and Moores began to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill, which many an accursed runnagado, or Christian-turned-Turk, did, till they have made those Sally men or Moores of Barbary so powerful as they be, to the terror of all the Straights: and many times they take purchase [prizes] even in the main ocean, yea, sometimes even in the narrow seas in England; and these are the most cruell villaines in Turkie or Barbarie, whose

A Contemporary Record.
1600.

* "*Nulli melius piraticam exercent quam Angli.*"—SCALIGER.

† Dan tells us (p. 312) that it was the Tunisians who were taught by two Englishmen, "Edward and Vver."

‡ Called "Danser" (once misprinted Manser) by Dan, who tells us that Algiers, not Morocco, was his headquarters, where he became established in 1606, and taught the natives to use "round vessels," after which he retired to Marseilles on a pardon (p. 311). His name proclaims him a Dane.

natives are very noble and of good nature in comparison of them." *[1]

But, although there is no reason for impeaching the captain's facts, there is for suspecting his ignorance of history, since, though doubtless men who had sailed with Frobisher, Drake and Raleigh were well able to teach the Moors "a thing or two" with regard to their craft, especially as to the "narrow seas in England," they had long had equally able instructors gathered from the scum of the Mediterranean.† Genoese, Sicilians, Greeks, Provençals, Catalans and Pisans, all indulged in piracy, for, as the Virginian President remarks of his time, "as in all lands where there are many people there are some theeves, so in all seas much frequented there are some pyrats."

Mediterranean Pirates.

There appears to have been, in fact, a time when, to judge from some of their early treaties, the Moors were
1186. in fear of Europe. The treaty with Pisa,‡ for instance, provides that any Pisan pirate attacking Muslimîn should be punished by the Pisans themselves,

* The "Turks"—a term including the Moors—were, during the reign of James I., so daring on the coasts of Devon and carried off so much booty and so many English ships "from under forts and castles left helpless and unguarded," that "noe marchant dared venture on the seas, hardlie they thought themselves secure enough on land." Twenty out of twenty-five who included two "Christians" were hanged on a sentence of Sir John Eliot's court in 1624. "There were fourtie saile of Turks besides those which formerlie kepte that coast." "Pirating had become so much more profitable than honest trading, that several Englishmen actually went into the business." FORSTER'S *Life of Sir John Eliot.* London, 1864, vol. i., pp. 317, 428, 320, 193, etc. See also Record Office, Cal. State Papers, vol. 1625-26, pp. 10 to 341, and vol. 1635-36, p. 303.

† Compare the story of the famous Greek renegade, Khair ed-Dîn Barbarossa—"Red-beard"—the worst ever known in Algiers, of which he in time became Dey, and many another of that class who throve on this traffic.

‡ See Mas Latrie's Collection.

[1] *The True Travels and Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith.* Lond 1630, p. 914.

1236. as stipulated also with Genoa* and with
1339. Majorca.† It is, nevertheless, fairly certain that the Moors did all they could in the way of piracy, though it was not till the thirteenth century that their share assumed alarming proportions, when their power in Spain was at its height, and communication across the Straits of Gibraltar demanded adequate supplies of boats. These, when not required for transport, could not be more naturally employed than in holding to ransom vessels becalmed in the passage they knew so well, or eventually in going out of their way to seek and capture inoffensive merchantmen of other nationalities.

Probable Origin.

More than this, it is on record that the Moors of those days even pirated their co-religionists in Spain,[1] with whom they were as often at war as not. It has also been alleged that there were Jewish pirates in the sixteenth century among the rovers of Morocco.[2] It is probable that Europeans only suffered more because more peaceably disposed, and because the owners of the greater commerce. Those were the days of the galleys, before they had been taught to manœuvre the "round" vessels captured from the foreigners, which, after all, were little bigger than the fishing smacks of present times. It is possible that but for the establishment of the Turks in Central Barbary in the sixteenth century, this scourge might have died down. The Turks, however, never managed to do more than set foot in Morocco; they were kept back in Algeria by the kings of Tlemçen and Fez, so the Moors were able to develop a piracy quite their own. In spite of the fact that
1390. they had been formidable to the Genoese, who appealed to France against them,[3] their fiercest period followed in the latter portion of the seventeenth century.

Turkish Influence.

* See Mas Latrie's Collection. † *Ibid.*

1 GODARD, p. 304. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 428. 3 FROISSART, vol. iv., chap. ii.

This was induced partly, perhaps, by the example and rivalry of their new neighbours, and partly by the recovery of all the Atlantic ports from the Europeans, which gave much freer scope for their vessels. But the greatest impetus appears to have been given in the first years of the seventeenth century, when Felipe III. of Spain expelled nine hundred thousand of their co-religionists;* those who fled to Salli became its masters, and made especial havoc of Spanish shipping.[1]

1610.

Early Naval Power.

Numerous authors have enabled us to estimate the Moorish naval power at successive periods, though what its effective force was it is not so easy to say, the sizes and descriptions being usually difficult of identification. The earliest reference is of a two-fold interest—first, as relating to a period in which there was no question of the Moors having received European instruction, and second, as the testimony of a Moor, the author of "Raôḍ el Ḳárṭás,"[2] who wrote about 1326. He states that Ábd el Mû'min, first of the Muwáḥḥadi Dynasty (Almohades) had four hundred vessels put on the stocks—at Mâmôra one hundred and twenty, at Tangier, Ceuta, Bádis, and other Rîf ports one hundred, at O'ran one hundred, and eighty in Spain.†

1162.

These must, of course, have been galleys—long low

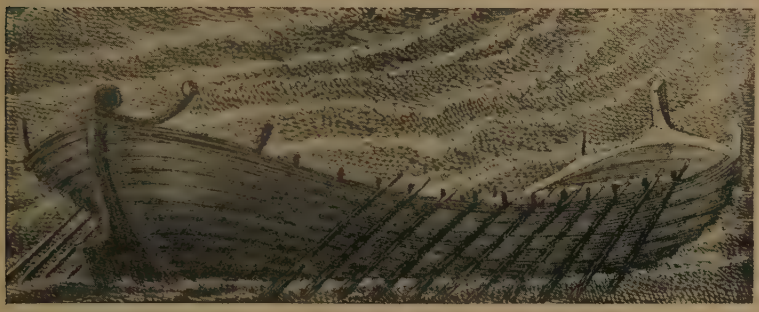
* Henry IV. of France should not only be remembered as the far-seeing author of the Edict of Nantes, but also as having permitted one hundred and fifty thousand of these "Moriscos" to settle in France on their certifying themselves to be Christians. Of those who refused to do this a large number settled in Pera, Constantinople, whence they induced the ḳáḍi to expel the Jews.

† Almeria was the maritime arsenal of the Beni Ummeyya, "the port where those fleets were equipped which furrowed in all directions the waters of the Mediterranean, spread devastation over its shores, and allowed no Christian vessel to sail in it."[3]

[1] Dan, p. 204. [2] p. 284. See also Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii.
[3] El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. ii., p. 311.

Style of Vessels.

rowing boats of ancient pattern, needing little mechanism, and propelled by oars or sweeps, each worked by several pairs of arms, by preference those of slaves. Their length would vary from twenty to sixty yards, with a breadth of from three to seven, and their oars —sometimes as much as sixteen yards long—were supplemented by lateen sails of the style of the faluchos still employed by Spaniards on this coast. Those of Barbary were small, especially in Morocco, where they were fewer in number than in the other Barbary States, being supported



A MOORISH SHALOUP
(From Höst, 1779)

by only one mast. Such vessels had no "prow castle," and little or no bulwark, that they might be light for chase and escape. They were impelled by about two hundred Christian slaves a-piece, packed tightly on some two dozen benches with a gangway down the centre.[1] Such a craft was always formidable to a vessel encumbered with cargo, carrying only sufficient hands for navigation. Moreover, while the merchantman was always at the mercy of the wind, the well-armed galley was almost as independent of it as the steamers of to-day, and its warriors were well supplied with lances and arrows.

[1] For good descriptions see FURTTENBACH, *Architectura Navalis*—with excellent drawings—1629; and CAPT. PANTERO PANTERA; also DAN, p. 308.

Previous to this the Aghlabîs of Sicily and "Saracens" of the Levant had owned their navies, and had been the terror of the seas; and it was with seventy galleys and one hundred other vessels that "Aben Chapella" the corsair was said to have carried Islám to Barbary;[1] but here we have to deal with Moors alone.

Long gaps in the available data then ensue, for the next reference occurs when the Governor of Ceuta who took the now no longer existing port of Targa, east of Tetuan, burned there twenty-five Moorish vessels.[2] Razelli found seventeen vessels in the river at Salli, and about a score entered later[3] —a formidable fleet for the period, though not one which would be of consequence at the present day,* probably not more formidable than an

1493.

1629.

Modern Moorish Navies.

* As most of the vessels of those days are now hardly known even by name, an explanation of the most common varieties alluded to may be of use.

A *Brig* has generally two masts, either square-rigged, or nearly like a ship's main-mast and fore-mast.

A *Brigantine* is an uncovered vessel without a deck.

A *Caravel* was a small, round vessel, of twenty-five to thirty tons, such as is used in the French herring fisheries.

A *Carrac*, or *Carraque*, was a large ship of burden, a merchantman.

A *Corvette* was originally a light vessel with one mast.

A *Frigate* in the Mediterranean is a vessel propelled by both sails and oars.

A *Galiote* was a small brigantine built for chase, with one mast and sixteen or twenty seats for rowers.

A *Galley* carried two masts with lateen sails, and had one deck.

A *Shaloup*, or *Chaloupe*, is a ship's long-boat.

A *Pinque*, or *Pink*, was a vessel with a very narrow stern.

A *Polacre* has three masts, each of one piece.

A *Snow* was "a brig which set her boom mainsail on a trysail mast, instead of, as is the present way, on the mast itself."[4]

A *Tartan* was "a small coasting vessel peculiar to the Mediterranean, now seldom seen,"[5] but akin to the felucca, with only one mast and a bowsprit, and a very large sail on a lateen yard, and sometimes a square sail.

A *Xebeck* is a small three-masted vessel of the Mediterranean, carrying two large square sails in fair weather; at other times lateen sails.

[1] DAN, p. 698. [2] GEN. SANDOVAL, in the *Revue africaine*, April, 1871, p. 177.
[3] ARMAND, p. 17. [4] BROWN on PELLOW, p. 368. [5] *Ibid.*

equal number of Spanish and Portuguese sailing vessels such as may be seen each season loading grain and oranges for Seville in the river at Laraiche. A little later St. Olon reported about a dozen vessels, mostly mounting eighteen to twenty guns in bad condition, with
1682. crews averaging two hundred men.[1] Two hundred and thirty-three Moors were then to be found in
1690. the Frenchmen's navy,[2] most of whom took part in the attempted invasion of England in support of James against William III. They arrived in long narrow galleys with decks but a couple of feet from the water, in each of which, besides one hundred and fifty officers and soldiers, there were no less than three hundred and thirty-six slaves, five or six of these unfortunates being allotted to each of the sixty sweeps.[3] Among their number were Turks and other hostile nationalities as well as Moors.

That a century later such galleys still continued to be built, is shown by the captain of the English privateer *Inspector* having been set to work on one at Tetuan.* It had, he tells us, a keel of ninety feet, and a breadth of twenty, and carried forty oars, nine carriage guns, twenty swivel guns and two hundred and thirty hands.†[4] These details are of

A Moorish Galley. 1750.

* They were used in the French navy down to 1773.

† A British Admiralty report of 1768[5] says that Laraiche had fitted out three xebecks, one of twenty-eight guns chiefly six-pounders, and one hundred and eighty men; one of twenty-four guns and one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty men; and one of twenty guns and one hundred men. There was another twenty-four-gun frigate "with a xebeck bottom." At Mamora there was a snow of sixteen guns built at Salli by a Portuguese renegade; a row-galley of thirty oars, eighty men and eight guns; and a xebeck of thirty-six oars and sixteen guns.

The "Annual Register" of 1775 (p. 84) contains a "complete list of the Moorish navy" as follows: "At Laraiche two frigates of 30 guns and 200 men each; three of 24 guns and 150 men each; two of 20 guns and 130 men

[1] p. 14. [2] THOMASSY, p. 141. [3] MACAULAY'S *History*, chap. xvi.
[4] HOUGHTON, p. 136. [5] Public Record Office, vol. x., Aug. 12th.

special value as those of a practical man, and the only ones personally obtainable which make any pretence at exactness. But Dan informs us that galleys were much less used by the Moorish rovers than by those of the Mediterranean, where the waves are not so formidable as
1637. on the ocean, and that they only used "carraques, pinques and polacres," of which they then owned thirty in all. The galleys of Tetuan chiefly confined their attention to Spanish fishermen.

Mohammed XVII. was possessed of twenty corsairs with from eighteen to fifty guns a-piece, eleven of which were described as frigates.*[1] One of these latter—country built—carried three hundred and thirty men and forty-five guns, which had to be taken over the bar in barges and shipped in the offing; but most of the Salli rovers were only of from thirty to sixty tons, for even when the tide was in there were but eleven or twelve feet of water on the bar.†[2] En-Náṣiri

Dimensions of Vessels.

each; one galliot of 22 oars, 12 guns and 90 men; all ready to put to sea. At Tetuan two xebecs of 30 oars, 20 guns and 200 men each; one galliot of 32 oars, 16 guns and 100 men; three of 24 oars, 10 guns and 90 men each, and one of 16 oars, 8 guns and 70 men; all ready for sailing. There are also ready for launching one xebec of 26 oars, pierced for 16 guns, and two galliots of 22 oars, pierced for 12 guns each. At Sallee one vessel of 24 guns and 180 men; one xebec of 20 oars, 18 guns and 120 men; and three galliots of 30 oars, 10 guns and 130 men each; ready to be launched. At Tangier one galliot of 36 oars, 10 guns and 160 men, besides several others very forward on the stocks."

* In 1760 there were at Laraiche five pirate vessels, only one of which mounted forty guns.[3]

† So far from the harbours of Morocco having suffered from the "Lisbon" earthquake of 1755, as is often asserted, such a result is never hinted at in the full reports transmitted to the Royal Society by the Governor of Gibraltar,[4] from which it seems that the most serious damage done at Salli was the "oversetting" of two ferry boats, with some loss of life and camels, and the deposition of fish in the streets, though at Saffi the sea reached the principal mosque. It was only in the interior, whence reports were less reliable, that "vast numbers of houses fell down," and eight leagues from Marrákesh the

[1] THOMASSY, p. 298. [2] DAN, 1637. [3] MERRY, p. 13.
[4] *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xlix., p. 428.

says he had thirty frigates and brigs, and sixty smaller vessels; but this must be taken as native exaggeration.

1788. Chenier reported the naval force of Morocco as six or eight frigates of two hundred tons burthen, with port-holes for from fourteen to eighteen six-pounders, and perhaps a dozen galleys. By that time the natives became sailors with reluctance, on a meagre, fluctuating pay, and the command was only entrusted to rich men who might be relied on to return.

About the same time Lemprière reported the navy to consist of "fifteen small frigates, a few xebecks, and twenty to thirty row-gallies," manned by about six thousand

1793. seamen under one admiral.[1] Three years later the figures are given as ten frigates, four brigs, fourteen galiotes and nineteen shaloups, the number of seamen remaining the same;[2] but then one knows how vague are Moorish statistics.

Passing to the present century, the Moorish navy is

1805. described by Buffa[3] as consisting only of four frigates, a brig, and a sloop of war. Ten years later Riley could only hear of a frigate of seven hundred tons with thirty-two guns, a coppered brig of eighteen guns presented by a Mogador Jew—one Makneen—and a new frigate of five hundred tons and thirty-two guns, besides occasional captured vessels.[4] But if the numbers had decreased this had been more than counter-

The Decrease.

1820. balanced by the increase in size. Yet after

village of the Beni Bû Sunba and country people to the number of eight or ten thousand were swallowed up. This was on November 1st, and a second shock on the 18th did much damage in Fez and Mequinez, where "there are but few houses left standing," only eight of those of the Jews being saved. The damage done in Mequinez and Zarhôn is, however, vouched for independently by Ez-Zaïáni.[5] Chenier, writing in 1788, says that this earthquake increased the depth of water at the mouth of the river in flood time to near thirty feet.

[1] p. 251. [2] GODARD, p. 156. [3] p. 43. [4] p. 565. [5] p. 121.

five years only three brigs mounting forty cannon, and
1834. thirteen gun-boats remained.[1] Gråberg made the same returns,[2] evidently a quotation. Hay gives the
1839. fleet as consisting of a corvette, two brigs (once merchantmen purchased from the Christians),* a schooner and a few gun-boats, all unfit for sea.[3] But the days of Moorish piracy were ended, and at last there only
1860. remained of the fleet that had once been the terror of Europe a schooner of four guns, a brig of twelve, and four gun-boats or two-masted xebecks rotting in the Wád El Ḳûs.[4]

What the Moors lacked in tonnage they always knew how to make up in boasting, as witness the letter of Mulai Ismâïl to Captain—afterwards Sir Cloudesley—
Moorish Bluff. Shovel, when the Portuguese handed Tangier to
1684. the English:—"Henceforward," he wrote, "I shall have ships built as big as yours, if not bigger, hoping to take some of your ships and captains, and cruise for you in your English seas as you do for us in these. . . . As for the captives you have taken, you may do with them as you please, heaving them into the sea or destroying them in other ways."[5] To which the captain made answer as befitted an Englishman.

Yet the very next year Captain Phelps, who was himself the captain of a privateer, who had been captured but had
Modus Operandi. escaped, asserted that "No Salleeman will fight a ship of ten guns."[6] They always sailed two or three together, making a great show on deck, issuing imperious demands of surrender with a view to terrifying

* One of these would be the "old Sardinian vessel, bought and armed against all powers not having treaties," an eight-gun terror, which, a few years later, was the only remaining Moorish vessel.[7] Austria, Tuscany, Naples, and the Hanse Towns had only just ceased paying $5000 a year to secure immunity for their merchantmen; and it was time.

[1] GODARD, l.c. [2] p. 229. [3] p. 99. [4] GODARD, l.c. [5] OCKLEY.
[6] p. 5. [7] P. R. Office, F. O. Docs., vol. xxxiv., Nos. 99, 101.

A XEBECK
(From Höst, 1797)

harmless merchantmen,[1] and appear to have relied more on deceit and strategy than on force, though when they did come to blows, no one could accuse them of faint-heartedness.* Often they would approach under false colours, or invent some pretext for demanding to see the ship's papers while they got to windward, or induce someone to come on board in a friendly way. But the real secret of their success appears to have been the defenceless condition of the majority of the little trading vessels of those days, and the unreasonable dread their very name inspired. From time to time, in addition to the European privateers and regular convoys afloat, expeditions were fitted out against them, chiefly by France,† Holland, England and Spain, but all they accomplished was taken as part of the game, and had an inciting rather than a deterrent effect.

April and May were the piracy months,[2] and the season closed in September, presumably on account of the greater number of vessels then venturing into the Mediterranean, and perhaps also on account of the prevailing winds, which then begin to blow from the east, but all the year round some prizes were coming in, to be used in their turn as pirate vessels if suitable, while before their crews there lay the direst of prospects. All goods captured were put up to auction, and the proceeds divided *pro rata* among the crew till Mulai Ismâïl claimed a tenth of the prizes, including the captives.

* Chenier tells of an old Moor of his acquaintance who had been a boy on one of Ismâïl's galleys, and informed him that often when without explosive ammunition the pirates would shower the flints and stones employed as ballast on the worse-armed merchantmen till they were overpowered and captured.

† In 1732 the Marseilles merchants wished to use the produce of a lottery to arm three frigates with sails and oars for three campaigns of eight months against the pirates of Morocco, and petitioned Louis XV. for the same assistance as had been permitted against Tripoli in 1728, but this was refused.[3]

[1] Dan. [2] Mouette, *Capt.*, p. 19; Dan., p. 307. [3] Thomassy.

Foreign Assistance.

It is probable that all along the presence of paid mercenaries, renegades and captives in Morocco was accountable for much of the rovers' success. In this respect, for instance, Mehedîa (or Mâmôra)—now a port no longer—when it was taken by the Spaniards, early in the seventeenth century, could be described as "a perfect kennel of European outlaws, English, French, Dutch, but few Italians or Spanish, the offscourings of every port, who, like the 'squaw-men' of the West, and the 'beach-combers' of the Pacific, led a congenial existence among the barbarians."[1] Père Dan[2] even says that renegades were the principal stay of the Moorish sultans, and that the corsairs were maintained by them.*

1637.

European Merchants Involved.

Moreover, it is more than hinted at by writers of the times[3] that some of those who passed as respectable merchants were not above taking an interest in the nefarious traffic in slaves which was the result, even when enjoying consular appointments, just as in later years, the game having been reversed, some of their successors have not been above playing into the hands of conscienceless native officials who professionally prey upon their fellow countrymen. Many of these willing intermediaries brought the arms and gunpowder from Europe which the pirates needed, and instead of taking cash took European slaves for whose redemption money had been raised abroad.†

* A "missive" from Admiral Van Gant to the States General, dated 1670, describes a fight off Laraiche with pirates, two of which were in command of renegades.

† In the City of London Library (MS. boxes 340 and 341) is a collection of printed briefs issued for the redemption of captives, dated 1691. They contain a charge to the archbishops and bishops to "effectually stir up the other Clergy to give prevailing Arguments to their flocks, both by exhortation

[1] Brown, intr. to Pellow, p. 13. [2] p. 383.
[3] *Cf.* Brisson, p. 151, Houghton, Mouette, and Ockley, p. 112.

The Republic of Salli.

The possession by Portugal and Spain of most of the other Moorish ports rendered that of the Bû Ragrag, with the two towns of Slá and Rabat at its mouth—which always remained in the hands of the Moors—their principal pirate stronghold, the European corruption of the former name being lent to the much-dreaded rovers. For a considerable period during the chaos which preceded the establishment of the reigning dynasty, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Salli became almost independent, and virtually formed a little republic after the style of the Berber tribes in the hills behind. From these tribes, without doubt, its best recruits were obtained, although directed and controlled by refugees from Spain.

When convenient, the sultans would repudiate their deeds, and Mulai Zîdán even went so far as to obtain assistance from our Charles I. to subdue them, not, however, with a view to the extermination of their piracy—as he so carefully explained—but that he might control it on his own account.* This was what his more powerful successors accomplished, first demanding a tenth of the booty, then a fifth,[1] and afterwards claiming the whole, rewarding the captors at so much a head. From that time forward the Government assumed entire responsibility for the raids of its "navy," and it was with the sultans in person that all bargains had to be struck for their redemption.

1636.

Royalties.

The wane of Moorish piracy may be dated from about

and example, for a Liberal Contribution towards the Redemption of these Miserable Wretches." See MS. 288 in the same library for the accounts of the £16,591 12*s.* 2½*d.* collected from 1700 to 1705. The disbursements included 7900 "Barbary Gun-locks."

* The official translation, free and flowery, of this interesting document is to be seen in the MS. room at the British Museum, vol. 15,891, f. 234.

[1] St. Olon, p. 15.

1750. A severe blow was dealt by Tuscany, which sent
1781. Sir John Acton in the frigate *Etruria* to

ENGAGEMENT OFF SALLI
(From the Dutch edition of Dan, 1684)

demand the return of two of her ships with damages, an errand which was successful.* Yet later the Moors

* The Moors were given twenty-four hours to decide, but the sultan was in Mequinez, and the governor of Tangier would not communicate with him.

1799. were able with eight vessels to blockade the port of Cadiz.[1] Mulai Sulaïmán II. perceived that the day of the rovers was over, though when he learned that Europeans were carrying on a contraband trade with Er-Rîf in animals and corn, he despatched his vessels to capture all ships found on that coast, despatching also *Cir.* 1820. an army to the mountains behind, while he himself came by Táza to punish the tribesmen, a campaign 1898. recently repeated.

It would be difficult to name the year in which this piracy ceased, for though Mulai Sulaïmán was willing to disarm his useless vessels, when from a terror *The End.* 1817. they had degenerated into a nuisance, and the time had come to retire gracefully before the introduction of steam, there can be no question that the practice died hard. En-Náṣiri, indeed, makes the remarkable statement[2] that the capture of Austrian 1828. vessels was no random act of irresponsible rovers, but part of the deliberate design of Mulai ʿAbd er-Raḥmán to revive the "holy war by sea," for which purpose he had vessels specially built. These sailed under the orders of Ḥáj ʿAbd er-Raḥmán Bargásh and Ḥáj ʿAbd er-Raḥmán Bir-Raïtál, who seized the vessels in question, and in- 1829. curred the ineffectual bombardment of Laraiche.* Though this occurrence gave the death-blow to the system, two British vessels were detained in the same

Acton went round Cape Spartel, and seeing a big village between Azîla and Laraiche, landed a force at night and took six men (one an important shareef of the sultan's family), eight women, a boy, and two girls. He lay off Tangier next morning for an answer, when the governor agreed to write to the sultan, and Acton, having left for Gibraltar, in due time returned and received all he demanded, giving up the hostages.

* The Austrian vessels having rashly entered the river, as the French before them had done on a similar occasion, they were cut off with a loss of forty-three by death and others as prisoners. An account of the affair is given by Augustin, who was sent with the envoy commissioned to make peace.

[1] Godard, p. 579. [2] vol. iv., p. 183.

1830. year,[1] and we find Sir Arthur Brooke reporting that the Moorish "brigs of war" still sailed "in hopes of pouncing upon some unfortunate Bremen or Hamburg merchantmen."[2]

This is perhaps the most recent record of actual piracy, which to-day is so entirely a thing of the past that in the country itself it is difficult to find a Moor, not deriving his information from foreign sources, who knows more about it than that in the days when his forefathers were good Muslimîn they were a match for all the Christians together, and made them pay tribute all round. And pay tribute they did, as still they do in the eyes of the Moors, whenever a foreign ambassador goes up to Court with his presents. But the tribute in those days was real, and it is to the New World that the honour belongs of having first refused to submit to such a disgraceful blackmail, for the Government of the United States set the European nations the example of declining to continue it. When on his way to Tripoli to demand re-

European Tributaries.

1803. dress for cutting down the flagstaff of his nation there, U.S. Commodore Preble had captured the Moorish pirate *Meshboâ* with an American vessel in tow, and having shaped his course for Tangier, obtained the release of all American prizes.

From that time so-called piracy has been confined to plundering stranded vessels, as in the many cases on

1823. the coast of Sûs, the *Ann Lucy* at Mazagan, and several cases on the Rîf coast. In con-

Recent Plunderings.

1848. sequence of two English vessels having been pillaged, Sir Charles Napier was ordered to make a

1852. demonstration with a view to checking these affairs, but he achieved nothing, so Prince Adalbert of

1856. Prussia was despatched on a similar errand.

It was the opinion of Sir John Drummond Hay that

[1] P.R.O., "Morocco," vol. 35, 1829. [2] vol. i., p. 281.

he administered a more effectual check by personal ex-
1856. postulations on the spot.[1] It was at this time that the Moorish Government first formally assumed responsibility for the action of the Rîfis by paying seven thousand dollars to the French as indemnity for the pillage of the *Jeune Dieppois*.[2] The Spanish war which soon followed helped to keep things quiet for some time.
1887. More recently a Spanish smuggler was raided, since which there have been several cases, culminating
1897. in a series two years ago, which led to another punitive expedition not yet concluded.

It must not be forgotten that the object of most of the little sailing vessels running such risks on the Moorish coast is contraband trade, which gives a different aspect to many a case of so-called
1813. "piracy." Thus Ez-Zaïáni says that there was so much contraband trade with Christians in Er-Rîf that the sultan was obliged to send all his vessels to seize the foreign smugglers, several of whose ships were captured.[3]

Contraband Trade.

The recent events on the Moorish coast are but the practice on the sea of the general custom in these parts of plundering every weaker party that comes along, a custom by which a large proportion of the mountain Berbers live, regarding it as a quite respectable calling. If by Divine decree the wind drives small vessels on to their coast, and Allah gives them victory over their unarmed crews, why hesitate to plunder? As long as the Governments of the victims are content to ransom their subjects, or to accept pecuniary compensation, which comes largely out of the pockets of innocent neighbours, this sort of thing will continue. All the good excuses in the world about upsetting the balance of power, or fear of embroiling Europe

Difficulty of Suppression.

[1] *Murray's Magazine*, vol. ii., November, 1887, pp. 583–595, and *Life of Sir John Drummond Hay*.

[2] GODARD, p. 675. [3] p. 194. See EN-NÁṢIRI, vol. iv, p. 149.

in war, will not, in the eyes of the Moors, explain the supine policy adopted with this "sick man of the West." Morocco only knows that the bark of the "Christian dog"

A "SALLEEMAN"
(From Höst, 1797)

is far worse than the chance of his biting, although the Government knows that he can bite.

As for the Berber population, they know nothing of Europe and less of its Powers: even the sultan is to them little more than a name. In individual cases he can

proceed against this tribe or that, to obtain redress or the punishment of offenders, always relying on the support of their neighbouring foes; but to lay his hand on the whole of their district would cost him his throne if unsupported by an overwhelming army such as he does not at present possess. No ordinary force, and certainly no Moorish force, could march through those hilly regions without terrible risk of famine as well as of foe, for there are no towns of any importance where they could quarter, and as they approached the natives would destroy all before them, by that means clearing an intervening space, just as the traveller on the prairie sends forth fire to meet approaching flames.

European Aspect.

It has been suggested that the Powers should, jointly or by a delegation to one of their number, employ on this coast an anti-piratical gunboat, but that could do nothing. It could not convoy every sailing vessel becalmed there, and by way of retribution it could do no more than any vessel specially sent as occasion arose. Even that is little enough with no ports to bombard, and no forts to hold if a force were to land. The natives would only retire, awaiting their chance to swoop down on the commissariat or other unwieldy detachment which promised booty. Allowing no rest, they would but tempt the enemy into a trap. If Er-Rif is to be subdued from abroad at all—and this has never yet become a necessary step—it can only be by its entire occupation, when, as with Turkey, the question comes, Whose the task?

1771.

Long ago a British officer in Moorish service[1] suggested that any Power wishing to deal with these Barbary pirates should borrow a Russian general, as the only one who would know how to deal with such people, but although to oblige France the Tsar has added a Russian legation to the number already established in

[1] JARDINE, p. 105.

Tangier, it would hardly do to-day to make that proposal seriously. Of the other Powers, Spain holds the key in her *presidios* * along the coast, and considers that she inherits a preferential claim, to which the French make graceful and soothing allusion when they put forward their own designs. France holds the back door in her Algerian frontier, which she is always careful to keep ajar, as commanding the passage to Fez. Great Britain would object as strongly to see either assume control, though unwilling to step in herself, and so things remain as they have been; for how long who can say?

Political Situation.

Morocco has been left so far behind that it has become difficult to realise the awe which she was able to inspire in Europe, even to the beginning of the present century. The consequence is that now, when something akin to piracy takes place upon its coast, European statesmen altogether under-estimate the importance of the matter. And since international jealousies prevent any one of the Powers from annexing the country, they are content to accept what they can obtain by way of compensation, and say no more, oblivious of the moral effect which such unsatisfactory arrangements have on the Moorish nation, and of the danger to which Europeans and their interests are thereby exposed.

The Moors, like all other Orientals, fully respect only one thing, and that is a just and strong hand, but they must feel it to appreciate it. While, notwithstanding their real lack of strength, by reason of their daring and the ignorance of their foes as to their condition, they remained the terror of the western seas, the manner in which they treated Europeans was disdainful beyond measure. Those who had the

Effect on the Moors.

* These *presidios*, literally "garrisons," are utilised as penal settlements.

misfortune to reach their shores were subjected to every possible indignity, and, if slaves, to most inhuman cruelty. As soon as active piracy ceased, and the Moors were compelled to recognise their own inferiority, the lot of Europeans in Morocco began to improve, till, within the century, their position has developed from one of sufferance to one which the Moors may well envy, thus affording the best of object lessons as to the benefits which even a leaven of Christian principle confers upon a nation.

CHAPTER THE FOURTEENTH

THE RECORD OF THE CHRISTIAN SLAVES

SINCE the custom of enslaving enemies taken in war dates back to the earliest pages of history, and as beyond offering brotherly terms to such of their foes as should accept their prophet, the Mohammedans have made no exception to this practice, it may be inferred that the presence of European slaves in Morocco counts from the first invasion of Spain. But it is not until comparatively recent years that we come across the traces of the captives, and not until the seventeenth century, when the Salli rovers captured English vessels in increasing numbers, that anything approaching an all-round picture of their sufferings can be obtained. Nor can even an approximate estimate be formed of the thousands who endured so sad a lot, which increased in sadness as the distance grew between the civilisations of Morocco and Europe.

The Earliest Victims.

The earliest, and for a long time the only, available records are those of the noble men who, under the general name of Redemptionist Fathers, undertook most dangerous and arduous journeys to Morocco for the purpose of redeeming those of the captives who had not, by accepting Islám, abandoned hope of ransom. Renegades had this to face in exchange for scanty privileges and a freedom which was only nominal, since they could never leave the country save by flight.

The Earliest Records.

Just before the victorious empire-maker Yâḳûb el Manṣûr returned to Morocco with no less than forty thousand Christian captives,* a party of these Fathers was commended to that ameer by Innocent III.[1] Nine years later there was founded at Marseilles—already by the assistance of Genoa in treaty relations with Morocco—the Order of the Trinity of Redemption, later on known also as the Mathurin Fathers.† It was doubtless the reports brought back by these brave and devoted men that fired the sainted Francis of Assisi with the wish to follow their example, but with the special object of converting the Moors, and though he never reached his destination his followers did, and suffered as has been related.

1195. 1189. *The "Trinitarians" or "Mathurins."*

Soon afterwards St. Pedro Nolasquez of Barcelona established the kindred Order of Our Lady of Redemption, to be supplemented in their labours by the Order of *Alfaqueques* or *Rescatadores*, founded by Alfonso X. of Castille. The members of the latter Order required election by the king or commons as "loyal, brave, humane, and acquainted with Arabic"—an accomplishment which must have been fairly common in the Spain of those days,—"men of property, which would be a guarantee for the right employment of the large sums with which they had to be entrusted."[2]

1218. *The "Rescatadores."* 1260.

A few years later saw the institution of two more French and Spanish Orders, those of *De la Mercy* and *De Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes*. As the field of their operations included at times Algeria, Tunis, and even Tripoli, it is

* Sixty thousand according to Mouette.[3]

† Either after their founder Matha, or the church of St. Mathurin, which subsequently became for some time their headquarters.[4]

[1] His letter is given by MAS LATRIE, *Relations*, p. 130.
[2] GODARD, p. 438. [3] *Hist.*, p. 64. [4] MAS LATRIE, *Relations*, p. 277.

difficult to calculate exactly the numbers ransomed in Morocco.

Redemptionist Experiences.

Leaving out of the question those whose errands were chiefly or entirely missionary, whose numbers decreased as those of the Ransomers increased, the hardships endured by these splendid fellows were often little less than those of the captives. As years passed on their circumstances did improve a little, but they were always looked upon as game to be exploited.

1681. Desmay, for instance, tells how his party was required by the kaid of Tetuan to pay him one hundred crowns a month for a safe conduct all the time they remained in the country. Before they could enter Morocco passports had to be obtained by correspondence, and an equal difficulty was often experienced in getting out again. The party referred to having bargained for more slaves than they could immediately pay for, they borrowed twelve thousand lire at four per cent. *per mensem* from the Jews—a modest rate for Morocco—for which one of the fathers had, Simeon-like, to remain in pledge. Similarly

1519. four monks sent by Gayangos had remained as sureties for a thousand ducats, and were only saved from being executed on account of their successful preaching, lest the money might not be repaid. Some

1688. Dutch priests, thinking to avoid these troubles by assuming a disguise, were found out and reduced to slavery.[1]

On the other hand the religious character with which these fathers were invested at times secured strange tokens of respect, especially as no breath of suspicion seems to have arisen with regard to their sincerity and uprightness. Thus we have a sultan asking one of the fathers whether he was justified in having slain a Portuguese slave who had robbed him thrice. The

[1] Busnot, 2.

father's answer to this question is instructive, for he held the penalty to have been just, if time had been allowed for repentance.[1] The obstacles in their way were not, however, always on the side of the Moors, for several writers of those times have complained of the behaviour of the European merchants on this coast, to whom the ransoms were frequently paid in cash, and by them placed to the sultan's credit for powder, shot, arms, iron, sulphur, etc.

Hindrances to Redemption.

"Those who supply his Barbarian Majesty with such goods as these for his money," remarks Ockley,[2] "are a let and hindrance to the general, as well as the particular, redemption of slaves. . . . It is through the artifices of these wretches that they are hedged in and cannot come out." It will readily be understood that their desire to recover as much as possible of the sums due to them was a great temptation to do what they could to raise the market value of their fellow-countrymen. Others who received sums direct from abroad* for special cases are accused of having employed the money in trade, while they failed to hasten the bargain.[3] The Frenchman Pillet, a trusted intermediary on several missions, at last showed his true colours by apostatising, and rose thereafter to be the governor of Salli.[4] Considering the circumstances under which they struggled, it is hardly to be wondered at that only the most desperate and callous traders ventured to establish houses in Morocco, where they had to make great profit to outweigh great risks.

The sums paid as ransoms fluctuated with the prestige in Morocco of the nations to which the particular captives

* *Cf.* the offer of Robert Downe to free thirty-two Englishmen and boys at Salli in 1652 for £1000.[5]

[1] Mairault, p. 158. [2] pp. 121, 122, 123. [3] See Mouette, p. 121.
[4] Braithwaite, p. 253; Mairault, p. 92.
[5] P.R.O. State Papers, vol. 1652–3, pp. 339, 342.

CONTEMPORARY ILLUSTRATION OF THE TREATMENT OF CHRISTIAN SLAVES IN MOROCCO
(From the Dutch edition of Dan, 1684)

Amount of Ransoms.

belonged—some faint echo of their prestige in Europe, as reported by the merchants, Redemptionist Fathers, and new arrivals. Some of the latter were not above crying up their own countries to lower their own price at the expense of others, since it was always the weakest country, or the one which appeared least able to retaliate or to enforce its demands, that was made to pay most. Mulai Ismâïl, in answer to the remonstrances of the French Trinitarian Fathers, who complained of his demanding so much more from them than from the Spaniards, replied, "It is not the same thing. The Spaniards cost us nothing to take; they are the chance comers who escape from their fortresses on our coast, who willingly submit to my chains. The French only yield at the last point, and sometimes after we have lost many men."[1]

Method of Redemption.

On the same authority we are told how some of the disappointed men who had been there for years, and whose turn had not yet come, grew so exasperated by hope deferred, that they waylaid the good fathers, and would have killed them but for the intervention of the Moorish police.[2] The custom was to deliver the ransomed slaves free of charge at the port agreed upon, where they awaited a vessel. One can imagine with what bursting hearts they at last reached the coast and waited for the final step, for, without special reason and precautions, they were not permitted to approach the sea, and guards were on the watch for them. Even renegades were as strictly kept up country.

Specimen Prices. 1630.

As specimens of varying prices paid, may be mentioned those arranged by France under Abd el Málek II., after the bombardment of Salli by Razelli,[3] who concluded a treaty with its practically in-

[1] Desmay. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[3] *Archives du Département des Affaires étrangères*, Maroc, t. 2.

dependent rovers. That energetic commander, under instructions from Cardinal Richelieu, obtained all French slaves in the country for a few pieces of cloth,[1] under threat of bombarding Saffi.* The English Admiral Rainsborough, who followed at the sultan's request to subdue the people of Salli, received two hundred English in return for his assistance.

Half a century later no less than ten thousand dollars were demanded for thirty Frenchmen from the Trinitarians above referred to, though by begging the Friars increased the number promised to forty; and by embracing the legs of Mulai Ismâïl's favourite horse, to fifty, receiving, nevertheless, but forty-five.[2] Next year, however, the sultan agreed to a reciprocal price for Moors and Frenchmen of one hundred crowns a-piece, when the number of French slaves in his dominions was still about four hundred, as against two hundred and thirty-three of his subjects on

1693. board the galleys of France.†[3]

In the same year the Spaniards bargained to exchange the prisoners taken at the capture of Laraiche and Mâmôra at four Moors for a healthy Spaniard, or two for an invalid.[4] A few years previously Colonel Kirke of the "Lambs" fame had agreed to pay for Englishmen two hundred "pieces of eight" a-head,[5] which then meant nearly £50. The Dutch

Exchange of Prisoners.

1698. struck their bargain at eight hundred crowns and a Moor for a Netherlands slave, and even then

* He received, moreover, a remarkable letter, still extant, addressed to Louis XIII.[6]

† Louis XIV. was so anxious to maintain the necessary complement of slaves in his galleys, that not only were convicts detained beyond the expiration of their sentences, but the exchange of Moors for Frenchmen was hindered.[7]

1 THOMASSY, *Relations;* CHENIER, p. 345; and Bibliog., Nos. 176–8, and 181.
2 DESMAY. 3 THOMASSY, *Relations*, p. 141. 4 THOMASSY, l.c.
5 PHELPS, p. 12. 6 IN DE SACY'S *Crestomathie Arabe*, vol. iii., p. 275.
7 See COLBERT'S *Manuscrits Verts*, in French National Library, for a letter of the Bishop of Marseilles to this effect.

returned more Moors than were stipulated for.[1] When
1704. the successful siege of Gibraltar by England lowered the rival prestige of France, its Redemptionist Fathers could not get one Frenchman for two Moors, and were asked for three Moors[2] or six hundred dollars and a Moor for each Frenchman, whereas they offered only three hundred dollars and a Moor.[3] *

Just before the Spanish Fathers redeemed two hundred at two hundred and fifty dollars a-head, but when they wished to repeat the bargain they were only able to obtain
1706. them at twice as much.[4] Queen Anne received a petition for help from thirty-four French Protestant slaves in Morocco,[5] which she granted, but with what success does not appear. A few years later the English consul at Tetuan went surety for $4666 and fifteen Moors due by France as ransoms.[6] The Portuguese about the same time paid for six Jesuits $1000 a-piece, and $475 each for one hundred and twenty-two laymen, besides returning sixty-four Moors and undertaking to deliver seven more from Mazagan and eleven from Brazil.[7] There were then eighty-six Dutchmen in captivity, and these were all bought up on speculation for powder and arms, by one Benzáki, a rich Jew, among others, he and his brother securing appointment as envoys to the States General to see what they
1732. could get for them.[8] Spain had at that time to pay four hundred dollars and a Moor for each captive.[9]

Speculation in Slaves.

Windus calculated that there were in Mequinez some

* Busnot brought with him on this occasion a diamond, an emerald, a topaz, and scarlet cloth to the value of $2200 as a "present" in exchange for which he received two families, which numbered ten souls in all. (See illustration on p. 313.)

1 Thomassy, *Rel.*, p. 150. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 150. 3 Dan, and Busnot, p. 149.
4 Busnot, p. 136. 5 Still in Public Record Office. 6 De la Faye, p. 306.
7 Mairault, p. 151. 8 Braithwaite, p. 212. 9 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

CONTEMPORARY ILLUSTRATION OF THE TREATMENT OF CHRISTIAN SLAVES IN MOROCCO
(From the Dutch edition of Dan, 1684)

1721. eleven hundred European slaves,[1] of whom three hundred were English, four hundred Spanish, one hundred and sixty-five Portuguese, one hundred and fifty-two French, sixty-nine Dutch, twenty-five Genoese, and three Greeks, an interesting clue to the proportion of vessels of various nationalities trading within the range of the Salli rovers. The English total had been collected during seven years, but they were growing numerous again just then, and it was a fortunate thing that among other sources of income for their redemption one Thomas Betton, a Turkey merchant, left, by a will proved in 1725, half the income of £26,000 intrusted to the Ironmongers' Company for the purpose of ransoming British captives in Barbary,* from which 1750. the sultan made a demand of £17,000, and actually received £7647, and so on year by year.† It is quite as likely as not that some such bequest as this gave the name of "Morocco Land," still borne by a huge building in the Cannongate of Edinburgh, to explain which Dr. Robert Brown unearthed some most romantic stories.[2] "From a recess above the second floor projects the effigy of a 'Moor,' a black naked man, with a turban and necklace of beads," and over the alley passing beneath it there is a Latin legend bearing date 1618.

Provision for Ransom

The prestige of England was falling, and her ambassador Sollicoffre could only obtain the liberation of the

* NICHOLL'S Account of the Ironmongers' Company, p. 346. "The £10,000 a year which this bequest in time brought in was finally appropriated by the Court of Chancery to grants in aid of Church of England schools."

† For instance, the highest amounts paid were: 1734, £2000; 1758, £1975; 1785, £4000; 1816, £1250; and the last, 1825, £3211, after which they could hear of no more slaves. But it cost the company £7638 law expenses to obtain permission to spend the money otherwise.—NICHOLL, p. 578, etc.

[1] p. 195. [2] See Introduction to PELLOW, p. 23.

Treatment of English.

1734. one hundred and forty-four Englishmen whom he found in Morocco at $350 a-head, to be paid in powder and shot.[1] As he was unable to discharge the whole sum at once, and as the official who received what he did pay rebelled and kept the money, serious consequences were entailed, for when the British privateer, *Inspector*, was stranded in Tangier Bay twelve years later, its crew of eighty were carried into slavery as sureties for the payment of the whole account, the consul being powerless to help them. During the five years which intervened before King George arranged to ransom them, they suffered fearful hardships, being employed in erecting the ḳaṣbah of Bû Faḳrán,[2] and no less than twenty of them "turned Moors." About the time of Sollicoffre's mission, besides a "present of $40,000, England agreed to pay no less than $1000 for a captain, $800 for an officer, and $600 for each seaman, while Venice paid $700 a-head.[3]

French Bargains.

1737. The French, who had seventy-five slaves up country, and some thirty in Tangier, redeemed the former batch for $45,000 Mexican, and the men were all stripped before being delivered.[4] The prices at the time were French $600, Portuguese $666,

1756. and Spanish $1000[5]. Later the French bought

1765. seventy for $65,720, or $930 a-piece, and they paid $92,000 for ninety-one, or a trifle over $1000 a-piece.[6]

1786. The treaty between the United States and Morocco stipulated that all prisoners of war could be ransomed at $100 dollars a-head, shipwrecked crews to be assisted and sent home. Then the tables turned,

1787. for we have Mohammed XVII. complaining to the French consul of the number of black slaves shipped by England from Agadîr, which he declared to be greater

[1] MAIRAULT. [2] See TROUGHTON'S Account. [3] THOMASSY.
[4] MAIRAULT; THOMASSY. [5] GODARD, p. 543. [6] *Ibid.*

than that exported by all the other nations together.* At the same time he despatched his son to Malta with $25,000 to redeem the Moors in the hands of the Knights of St. John, and notified the foreign consuls that for every Moor returned with a free pass from Europe he would pay $500 worth of wheat at Mogador, which he was then founding. As a result of this the Moors, who had become a drug in the markets of Europe, were bought up by the merchants and shipped home.[1] When Buonaparte took Malta, 1798. among the four thousand five hundred Mohammedans whom he set free, there appear, nevertheless, to have still remained many Moors. As early as the fourteenth century Moorish slaves had been regularly sold in the markets of Genoa, Pisa, and the Spanish ports, and at the latter, in the fifteenth century, the customs tariff for Moors was four livres entrance or exit.[2]

Moors Enslaved.

But what is still more singular than that the European nations should so long have been content to redeem their subjects from the Moors without question, is that they should actually have consented to secure immunity—or at least the promise of immunity—from the Salli rovers by the payment of tribute. Such a state of things is only to be accounted for by serious disorganisation and indifference at home, as well as by lamentable ignorance of those with whom they had to deal in Barbary. Although the tales of those who had been slaves here grew most numerous about the time that tribute became general, and although their narratives were often store-houses of information, which should have corrected every false impression as

Payment of Tribute.

* It was only in 1777 that Europeans were prohibited from shipping negroes from Morocco.[3]

[1] THOMASSY. [2] MAS LATRIE, notes. [3] GANNIERS, p. 73.

to the condition of the Moorish nation and its real strength, the explanation of the supineness of Europe still appears to have been chiefly ignorance.

Outside Interest.

While most of the sufferers were but unlearned seamen, whose voices, even through the Press, were not widely heard, the general impression which their tales created on the minds of those who would most naturally read them, could not have been other than a highly-coloured exaggeration of the might and prowess, as well as of the inhumanity, of "the barbarians"—as they were pleased to call them—at whose hands they had suffered so much. The numerous editions and translations through which many of these stories ran proclaim how widespread and how real was the interest which all these sufferings aroused. On the Continent, especially, the efforts of the Redemptionist Fathers—both in Pulpit and Press—to collect the funds required for ransom,* the processions of the ransomed captives, and their public thanksgivings, must have tended to enhance beyond all reason the awe in which the name of Moor was held, especially as the popular mind made no distinction between Moors, Algerians, Tunisians, Tripolitanes or Turks.

Amounts of Tribute.

As to the amounts which annually reached Morocco from Europe under the head of tribute—or, to put it euphemistically, "presents for the maintenance of friendship"—it would be a useless task to search the records for the details, but the data which writers of the period have left available are of considerable interest.† No regular tribute appears to have been paid until the terrible reign of Mulai Ismâïl had raised Moorish prestige to its height, a point at which

* For an account of some of the collections made for a similar purpose in English parish churches see W. A. Bewes, *Church Briefs*, 1896, pp. 193–206.

† For these data Gråberg is the chief authority, freely quoted by later writers.

it stood during the latter half of the eighteenth century, when, the wars which followed the tyrant's death being over, Morocco became a serious menace to Europe.

With the exception of Holland, which paid £2200 a year from an early date to 1815, it was probably the trading cities of southern Europe which set the bad
1732. example. Thus we have Venice undertaking to pay fifty thousand sequins down and ten thousand a year, besides a present of sixty thousand to the sultan, with presents for his chief wife, and five thousand sequins
1765. to the wazeer.[1] Thirty-three years afterwards Venice agreed to pay the Moors £4000 a year, a tribute
1780. which they had to raise because they had in the meanwhile consented to pay more to Algiers.[2] This contract was subsequently taken over by Austria, but even-
1815. tually terminated. On the other hand, Sweden,
1763. which had got off for £3000 a year in Swedish goods, refused payment altogether when Gustavus Adolphus
1771. came to the throne, sending presents only. But
1803. the old terms were reinforced, payment to be made publicly on St. John's Day, with $3000 to $4000 for
1844. the officials. This disgraceful contribution was continued to the middle of the century,[3] as was also the
1753. tribute from Denmark, originally assessed at £3600. Sardinia was one of the latest to come to terms, agreeing to pay the last-named sum at each change of consul. France at one time paid £1450 a year, but none of the others appear to have rendered anything definite, though they ransomed their slaves, and their presents were sometimes enormous. It was only in the year before
1814. Waterloo that the slavery of Christians was abolished by treaty.

Meanwhile the sufferings of those who were enslaved were harrowing in the extreme. To use the words of a

[1] THOMASSY, p. 50. [2] CHENIER. [3] HAY'S *Life*.

Sufferings of Slaves.

contemporary writer, Ockley,[1] "If anything upon Earth can possibly be supposed to afford us any representation of the torments of hell, it is certainly the cruel punishment inflicted on the poor Christians at Mequinez. The day never breaks, and the sun never rises, which affords not matter enough for the breaking of their hearts, and gives cause of new sorrows to arise in their souls. When they arise, they have just reason to think that they shall never more lie down again till laid in the dust; and when they lie down they have the least security of all men in the world that they shall ever arise again till the general resurrection. For though their lives and beings be in the Almighty's hands, as all others are, seeing that God hath subjected them to the rage, fury, and cruelty of a barbarous and bloodthirsty tyrant* (who regards the life of his dogs more than theirs) they may well believe and assure themselves that there is but a step, and that a narrow one, between them and death.

"How many poor Christian slaves hath he run through with lances, shot, thrown to the lions, and caused to be burnt alive in burning lime-kilns? . . . And yet he is the best patron and protector that the Christian slaves have to depend upon. His terror defends them from the fury of his subjects, who, out of the fear and dread they have of him, dare not execute in full measure their cruel and cursed wrath upon his Christian slaves. . . .

"Their work consists in building, and providing all materials for it. Some must stand stamping earth mixed with lime and water . . . with a wooden stamper of about twelve or fourteen pounds weight, and that from the break of day till stars appear at night, without intermission or standing still. Others are busied in

Tasks of Slaves.

* Mulai Ismâïl.

[1] p. 109.

mixing and preparing this earth, some digging quarries, finding and breaking limestones, whilst others burn them; some are carrying baskets of earth on their heads, and some digging palmetto to burn lime; some are carters and go all day with waggons full of earth, drawn by six bulls and two horses, and at night must watch the beasts in the field, as well in winter as in summer; some are employed in making powder, others small arms; some sawing, cutting, cementing, and erecting marble pillars; others there are whose business is to look after water-works; the rest tend horses.

"Now all these (and if there be any otherwise employed) have their particular guardians, task-masters and drivers, who take such a narrow notice and careful inspection . . . that not a minute must be lost, nor so much time afforded as to eat their piece of black bread that is allowed them, but like Nehemiah's men, they must work with one hand while they put their coarse morsel of bread into their mouth with the other. Without doubt the bondage of the Israelites was hard, but it cannot be imagined . . . that it was equal to this servitude."

Meals.

Such a picture as this, if unsupported by abundant independent testimony, might indeed be taken as the echo of the sufferers' version, naturally over-coloured, but the mass of evidence for every detail, and for much more than can in these days be stated in print, is overwhelming. It is only as a late survival of the Middle Ages that the story can be understood, for this was written in 1712, and it is necessary to read the narratives of those who escaped or were ransomed to appreciate the full reality, and to perceive what changes even Morocco has undergone since then. That being the epoch which most nearly appeals to us as Englishmen—as well as to the other northern nations, who then suffered most—it is the

Abundant Testimony.

CONTEMPORARY ILLUSTRATION OF THE TREATMENT OF CHRISTIAN SLAVES IN MOROCCO
(From the Dutch edition of Dan, 1684)

fittest to portray at length, which it is possible to do from many first-hand descriptions.

Slave Quarters.

At that time most of the European slaves in Mequinez, then the capital, were quartered under the twenty-four arches of a bridge between the town and the stables which the sultan had compelled them to build. The Spaniards occupied eleven of the arches, and the other nationalities the remainder, according to their numerical proportions.[1] The Spaniards and French had chapels fitted up in their quarters, served by the Redemptionists and resident Franciscan priests, to whose self-oblivious labours the constancy of the majority was largely due. Their presence was the one bright spot in these suffering lives. Carlos II. of Spain provided $2228—a large sum in those days—for the erection of a hospital of a more permanent character than had hitherto been within the reach of the Franciscan Friars who, after centuries of kindred labours at Marrákesh, had for some time settled in the North. Braithwaite[2] describes it as in a good position, and affording ample room for its inmates, being in charge of a guardian, four friars, a layman, and a surgeon, all of whom were under the special protection of the emperor.

1691.

Spanish Convent.

By force of this example, doubtless, the bridge was replaced by a fine large building in Spanish style,[3] mostly the work of the captives. It included hospital, baths, and convent (for men). During its erection the slaves were for two years lodged in huts. But soon this "great square prison" had to be abandoned, on account of the ease with which its inmates could barricade themselves, and they were thenceforth placed in buildings less commodious in the centre of the town.[4] Even that, however, was better than the subterraneous, unlit, undrained and unventilated

[1] PUERTO, p. 649. [2] p. 251. [3] PUERTO, p. 737. [4] BUSNOT.

French Hospital.

granaries in which they had been formerly confined. The French also organised a hospital at one period, but their efforts lacked the continuity secured by the Franciscans.[1]

Just before the Spanish hospital was built, some five thousand of the captives were employed for nine days in removing the earth and remains from the Christian cemetery which the sultan wished to add to his gardens, to the evil effects of which task one in ten succumbed.[2] Later on their quarters were more distributed, four hundred living three miles out of Mequinez beside the summer palace,[3] and many being sent to the country. Renegades were subsequently quartered at the ḳaṣbah of Agûrai, a day's journey from Mequinez, where their descendants still dwell.

The Daily Round.

Of the life that the captives led we have ample but sorrowful details. The sun had hardly risen when their task-masters were at them to commence their labours, which have been sufficiently described. The behaviour of these task-masters had this excuse at least, that they were answerable with their lives for the presence of their charges,[4] who were often dragged to work when they ought to have been on a sick bed.

Food.

For food the captives were allowed a daily measure of black wheat or barley flour—often so discoloured and unpalatable from long keeping underground that even the dogs would not touch it[5]; this, and an ounce of oil which they were often fain to exchange for soup,[6] since meat never came within their reach; sometimes they were reduced to subsistence on roots. If bread was given, it was only fourteen ounces;* sometimes even water was distributed by measure.[7]

* Generally one in every thirty acted as baker.

[1] De Maurville. [2] Busnot, p. 162; and Puerto. [3] Dekker, p. 43
[4] Busnot, p. 164. [5] Puerto, p. 70. [6] Mouette, p. 121. [7] Busnot, p. 165.

Worship.

When night had fallen, and they were at liberty to stretch their wearied and emaciated frames upon the ground, or on mats if they possessed them, their one word of hope came from the chapel, whence, in accordance with the custom of the country, sounded, instead of a bell, a call to prayer, "*Ave Maria, Hermános!*"[1] In the plague time was established among them by the friars a "Third Order" of Franciscans,[2] as a "Brotherhood of Pity," the annals of which are beyond all measure touching. Its funds were recruited from a tax on games of chance, and on the spirits which the sultan ordered, as he found they made the slaves work, the material being furnished by the Jews, and the distillation being in their own hands.[3] When a slave had recourse to the friars it was customary, if he could, to bring some small coin, but a favourite present was a bottle of wine "for the mass."

License.

Of course here and there individual slaves enjoyed better treatment, and it is not marvellous that, under circumstances such as these, mother-wit, if not cunning, should develop to a degree sufficient to enable the captives often to get the better of their masters, especially where wine and women were concerned. Few particulars are more remarkable than the liberty which was allowed in the homes of their masters to the European captives who were private property, for they were permitted access to the women's quarters, such as would never be granted to Moors, and veiling was considered needless before them.*

Women Slaves.

There were also women among the slaves, though happily not many, and the treatment they received at the hands of the Moors, when steadfast in their faith, was often of a nature not to be described.

* See the amorous adventures narrated by Mouette, in his *Relation.*

[1] Puerto, p. 639. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 618. [3] Mouette, p. 67.

De la Faye tells the story of a Portuguese lady, captured with her young son and daughter, whose anxiety for the latter when she grew up induced her to ask a young Spanish slave who had taken notice of the girl to protect her from the sultan by marrying her. This he did, thereby also securing that exemption from public works which was granted to married men. But to obtain the required permission from her mistress, one of the "queens," the mother had to give her all she possessed.[1] On one occasion, when three slaves who had attempted to escape had been abandoned to the pleasure of two hundred young black guards, their lives were spared through some of the Christian women risking their own in an appeal to the sultan.

Tortures.

Of the sufferings to which they were subjected Busnot wrote:—"For the slightest faults they are impaled, burned alive, or hung by the feet over the mouth of a lime-kiln. The king often has them strangled; he passes loaded waggons over the bodies of others, and others still he has tossed into the air by four negroes, besides unnameable mutilations."[2] Three to five hundred lashes were frequently administered. One was burned for accidentally killing a Moor,[3] and many were cast to the royal lions by Mulai Ismáïl and Mulai 'Abd Allah V.,[4] both of whom were also fond of slaying them by their own hands with lance or scimitar.[5] The former used to shoot them on the walls if halting at their work, and had quicklime applied to the heads he had broken,[6] while to the latter is attributed a predilection for standing them in a row beside a wall he was about to demolish, and letting it fall upon them.[7]

About that period European slaves were to be seen for sale by auction on the Marrákesh market, just as

[1] p. 173. [2] pp. 176, 216. See p. 143. [3] p. 147. [4] Dan, p. 449.
[5] *Ibid.* [6] Mouette, *Rel.*, p. 63. [7] De Mairault.

Auction Sales.

negro slaves and cattle are to-day, and were subjected to the same humiliating examination.[1]

1740. Six years later the treatment received by the crew of the *Inspector* showed that things had in no way

1765. improved, and still later the prisoners of war taken at the unsuccessful attack of the French on Laraiche had terrible hardships to undergo before they were bought back at one thousand dollars a-head. Their sufferings were alleviated only by the hospital service organised by the officer to whose anonymous record our information is due.[2]

At first sight it seems wonderful that more were not successful in escaping from such tyranny, but when one reads the narratives of those who did escape, little room is left for wonder, notwithstanding the comparative freedom

Escapes.

with which Europeans were permitted to trade in the country, and the apparent opportunities afforded by the presence of their vessels in the Moorish ports. So close a watch was kept on the coast, that no one could get on board a vessel unless duly authorised; the foreign possessions were surrounded by cordons of guards, in some instances provided with bloodhounds wherewith to detect and pursue those who tried to pass them at night.[3]

So terrible was the punishment meted out to those who had attempted and failed, that a man had to be driven

Retribution.

to actual desperation before he would venture to risk so much on so slight a chance. Bastinado without mercy, torture, amputated ears,[4] were among the terrors in store. Yet there were some who braved them, travelling on foot by night and hiding by day, through districts infested by wild beasts more savage than their masters, suffering unheard-of hardships, and more often

1 Crouzenac, p. 87. 2 Now known to have been De Maurville: p. 129.
3 Busnot, p. 192. 4 Mouette, p. 108.

than not recaptured at the eleventh hour. Nevertheless, a few did reach Europe to tell the tale. Notwithstanding that even to be suspected of so doing meant death,*[1] there were Moors known as "metedores," or smugglers, who undertook to assist and guide the flight of captives, under the inducement of large ransoms promised by the foreign friars and officials.

As soon as the escape of a slave was discovered, a ṭáleb or scribe was summoned to murmur charms over his sleeping place or his old clothes, which were then tied up in a bundle, that he might never succeed in gaining his liberty.[2] Sometimes a captive was allowed to bid for himself at auction, on undertaking before the consul to ransom himself, when letters were conveyed to his friends, requesting them to raise the money;[3] but his lot was seldom the better for that. When a party of Redemptionists arrived, they bargained for the slaves who had been longest there, but the Moors always tried to make them accept the oldest, or those least capacitated for hard work; and one can understand the desperation of the younger captives when they saw how long they might have to wait for a chance.

Liberation.

Nor is it surprising that so many of them yielded to the strong temptation to "turn Moor," by doing which, although they were exempted from the hardest labour, and were granted certain privileges, they were for ever precluded from hope of ransom, and became *ipso facto* subjects of the emperor. So much were renegades despised, however, being known to have "surrendered" from interest and not conviction, that they were seldom importuned by private masters to make the change. The sultans and authorities, on the contrary,

Renegades.

* Twenty-two were executed on this account in 1702, and one, for fear of being taken, plunged into a river and was drowned.

[1] Busnot, p. 178. [2] Mouette, *Rel.*, p. 257. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

did all they could to induce them to do so, making a great show of rejoicing when they yielded, and parading the convert on horseback. A Moorish name was then bestowed, together with a wife and some employment. The wife was almost invariably a negress,[1] and it was not till the third or fourth generation that the family lost all Christian taint, or even the title of âlj—renegade—which, in some cases, has been retained as a surname to the
1680. present time. A young Englishman, who, having yielded, afterwards recanted,[2] was beheaded by the hand of the sultan, as for this crime death was the certain penalty.*

A decade later nearly all the two thousand captured at Mâmôra became renegades, and so did three-fourths of the eighteen thousand taken at Laraiche by Mulai Ismâïl, who transported fifteen hundred to the distant province of Drâa.[3] There, doubtless, their descendants will give rise to interesting problems in ethnology for travellers as ignorant of the works of their predecessors as most have been who have contributed to the literature of Morocco. A still more interesting settlement, of which there surely must yet be traces, dates back for seven centuries. Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, no longer needing the captives imported from
1195. Spain after the battle of Alarcos—whom he had till then employed in building Rabat and Marrákesh—granted them their liberty and also choice of residence. A valley having been selected which is not identified—though it was somewhere in the central Atlas, nearer Fez than Marrákesh†—the Berbers were expelled to make

Traces of Renegades.

* Two ameers were assassinated by renegades, 'Abd el Málek II. in 1631, and El Walîd, his brother, in 1637, the former by having his brain burned while drunk in his tent.

† Mouette says it lay to the west of Tádla, on the left of the Um er-Rabîâ.[4]

[1] Pellow, orig. ed., p. 331.
[2] Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 25.
[3] Brown, intr. to Pellow, pp. 30, 32.
[4] *Hist.*, p. 64.

room for the foreigners who were installed there in the month of Shâbán, from which, according to the Moorish historian, they were thereafter known as Shâbánîs. At first they maintained their religion, but, deprived of teachers, they lapsed into Islám, and in the course of a few centuries were all but indistinguishable from their neighbours. They long maintained a reputation for valour, and as late as the middle of the seventeenth century Mulai Rasheed found them first most formidable foes, and then important allies, who could furnish six thousand men.[1] These Mulai Ismâïl had to disperse, sending most of them to reside near Oojda.[2] Diego de Torres met between Marrákesh and Tarudant, a century earlier, people boasting Christian descent while speaking Berber, who were restricted to one wife each, and were great drinkers of wine. Their kaid informed him that in a cavern, of which he kept the key, were preserved the bell and books of their ancestors, which he dared not show to a European.[3] Undoubtedly these would be the Shâbáni, as also may have been the Chris-
1683. tians reported by Pétis de la Croix near Tádla.[4]

Such, then, was the history of European slavery among the Moors, a gloomy page indeed, but not more gloomy than could have been written, or than has been written, of the enslavement in comparatively recent years of Africans by Europeans, for whom much less excuse can be made than for the Moors, who, be it noted, have seldom or never treated their black slaves, who still exist, with half the cruelty they showed the Christians.

Comparison.

One other phase of the captivity of Europeans in Morocco remains to be mentioned. It is the lot of ship-

[1] Chenier, ii., p. 131.
[2] Ez-Zaïáni, p. 34.
[3] p. 274; or Paris ed., p. 161.
[4] vol. i., p. 141.

Shipwrecked Mariners.

wrecked mariners and over-venturesome traders, or explorers, who have fallen into the hands of the natives, chiefly in Southern Morocco. As the comparative calm of the latter half of the eighteenth century encouraged trade with Europe, such experiences grew in frequency just when the captures by pirates began to decrease. At the close of the last and the commencement of the present century the wrecks upon the coasts of Sûs and the Drâa grew especially numerous, and many are the records that they left. The hardships suffered by the unfortunate crews were little less acute than those of the slaves. Even when Moorish intentions were good, the ordinary Bedáwi life they were forced to lead, and the unwonted food, were in themselves sufficient to cause suffering. The impossibility of escape, and the remoteness of possible ransom, made their situation appear hopeless, while communication with their captors, except by signs, was beyond their power.

The real reason of their being detained was the hope of ransom, on which account they were treated as wild beasts on whose heads a price was set. Sometimes wealthy Arabs bought them on speculation, and having brought them to the coast, would even carry them off again if offers failed to meet their expectation. Or, if too little was offered, they might not be brought to the coast at all, and some lingered on in this durance for years. It was therefore suggested by Jackson and Court, merchants of Mogador, that a fixed medium price should be offered for all classes without variation.[1] Those who had no consul were under this scheme paid for by the local governors under the emperor's orders, and sent up to Court till ransomed by their governments. Now, it is only when they are taken captive in the remote districts, which but partially acknowledge the

Conditions of Ransom.

1800.

[1] Paddock, p. 324.

shareefian supremacy, that Europeans are so treated. If caught smuggling in the Rîf or in Sûs, or exploring the forbidden Atlas, they are either simply turned back before they enter the prohibited districts, or are despatched to one of the capitals under guard, to wait the sultan's pleasure.

STATISTICS OF REDEMPTIONS FROM MOROCCO

The immense total of slaves redeemed by the various Orders can be but vaguely guessed from such data as are now obtainable, of which the following are specimens:—In 1255 two English friars, Gilbert and Edward, sent home 460 slaves by a third, Friar George, remaining themselves to suffer martyrdom for preaching, a fate which likewise befell two other English friars, Patrick and William, after having delivered 590.[1] In 1307 Raymond Albert, Prior-General of the Order of Mercy, delivered 300, some of them from Algiers; in 1313 Guillermo Giraldo and Claude de San Romans, the preacher, rescued 236, and in 1330, 236 were brought back to Barcelona. In 1338 Juan de Luca recovered 116, and in 1342 Domingo Pardo 150, including 50 on credit. In 1402 Juan de Herrera and Bernardo Arenys redeemed 258, and in 1408 Denis de Mendoça and Sévérin de Paris, who also converted a grand Rabbi and brought him back, released 104. In 1411 Sévérin, this time only aved by the intervention of the ameer from death for preaching the Gospel, for which he was ultimately impaled at Algiers in 1418, liberated 140.[2] In 1431 died Gomez y Martinez, who had in eleven journeys ransomed no less than 2984.[3] In 1447 Luis de Sarmento and Bertolomeo de Segovia rescued 189, and in 1450 Alfonso de Valverde and Dominico de Sevilla 124. Forty years later Pierre Beuccord and Jean le Vasseur brought home 204. In 1517 Antonio de Cisneros and Matias de Córdova restored 109 to their friends and in 1519 Diego de Gayangos no less than 500; 1529 saw 89 set free by Garcia de Menezes, and 1543 126 by Gabriel de Andrada and Isidoro de Sevilla. So the list might be prolonged indefinitely,[3] but to cull some figures from other sources by way of continuation, in 1550 there were estimated to be over 1000 Christian slaves in Fez alone,[4] and in 1568 no less than twice that number in Marrákesh.[5] In a mémoire addressed to Cardinal Richelieu in 1626,[6] by Razelli, a fleet is requested to chastise those pirates "who have commenced to arm by sea these eight years, and have taken more than 6000

[1] CALVO, *Resumen de las Prerogativas . . . de las SS Trinidad*, etc., Pamplona, 1791 part iii., p. 207, etc.

See REMON, *Hist. gen. de la Orden de N.S. de la Merced*, Madrid, 1816, vol. i., p. 324–358; *Tableau des Redemptions*, Paris, 1785, both quoted by Godard, p. 441.

The number redeemed from the whole of Barbary by the Trinitarians alone, up to 1635, is given by Gonzalez of Avila, as 30,720.

[2] TORRES, p. 418. [3] GODARD, p. 496.

[6] *Bib. Ste. Geneviève*, MSS. L. f. 36; and *Rev. de Géog.*, t. xix., p. 374, etc.

Christians and 15,000,000 livres." In the same year a petition reached the British Government from 2000 poor women whose husbands were detained "in woful slavery and grievous torments in Morocco,"[1] and a decade later similar petitions were presented by 1000 of these bereaved women.[2] Nearly twenty years later, in 1641, an estimate[3] was: In Tetuan, 3000 to 4000; in Marrákesh, 5000 to 6000; in Salli, 1500 to 2000; in Fez almost as many as in Marrákesh, though in 1670 the numbers in Fez were reduced to about 300, rising to 600 in two years, with 150 in Mequinez, and as many in Tetuan.[4] From Salli in that year the Trinitarians redeemed 41, and from Tetuan 116. In the same year the Dutch ambassador ransomed 41 in Marrákesh.[5] In 1685, of 800 then in Mequinez 260 were English,[6] and in 1690 all the 3000 taken at the fall of Laraiche were enslaved.[7] That notwithstanding this concentration there were many scattered far inland, is shown by pastoral letters having been addressed among others to those at Iligh, capital of Sûs. Passing to the eighteenth century, there were in Mequinez in 1723, after several parties had been ransomed, 20 Genoese, 70 Dutch, 4 English (though at peace with the Moors), 350 Spaniards, 130 French, and 160 Portuguese, among whom was a priest who refused redemption that he might remain to succour and uphold his fellow-captives.[8] In 1756 the monks Georges and J. J. Aubert ransomed 70, in 1765 various persons secured liberty for 91, and nine years later the Mathurin Friars redeemed 144.[9] But times were changing, and there were so few in the country in 1790 that the sultan tried to purchase all there were then in Algeria to exchange them for Moorish prisoners in Europe.

1 P.R.O., Cal. State Papers, vol. 1625–6, p. 516
2 *Ibid.*, vol. 1635–6, p. 15.
3 By Père Dan, pp. 232, 251, etc.; and Manuel de Aranda.
4 Puerto, pp. 597 and 618.
5 Hellwald, *Voyage d'Adrian Nathan.*
6 Phelps, p. 12.
7 De el Puerto.
8 Jean de la Faye, p 266.
9 Godard.

Cavilla, Photo., Tangier

PROCESSION OF FRANCISCAN PRIESTS OUTSIDE CASABLANCA

CHAPTER THE FIFTEENTH

CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES IN MOROCCO

Unwarranted Assumptions.

ALTHOUGH it is generally assumed by writers on Morocco that there once existed a flourishing Christian church in this land, when the foundation on which that assumption rests is examined, it is found to be but slender, and quite insufficient to sustain the fabric raised upon it. Innocent III., it is true, declares in a bull directed to the African bishops that the gospel had been published here by the apostles,[1] and Piñeda says that Peter preached along the North African coast as far as Mauretania. In support of this statement he cites Nicephorus and Baronis, the latter of whom attributed the journey to the fifteenth year of his "pontificate."[2]

Mercier maintains that in the year 40 "St. Mark, a Cyrenian Jew, came to his country to make proselytes, carrying on this work until about 61, when he went to Alexandria to establish churches. Having there become the head of the church, he did not forget his country, but returned several times, and instituted, so they say, the first bishops."[3] All this, however, is very vague, and whatever success attended the preaching of Christ in the more eastern of the Roman provinces in Africa, there can be little doubt that in what we now know as Morocco no real foot-hold was ever gained by Christianity, though there may have been

[1] PUERTO, p. 5. [2] *Monarquia Ecclesiastica*, part i., bk. x. [3] p. 110.

Probable Truth.

individual converts, and among the Romans there must have been some who acknowledged the Nazarene. For instance, a centurion, Marcellus, was
298. banished from the Trajan legion, then in Spain, to Tangier, where Aurelius Agricola was vice-prefect, and was here beheaded for declining, as a Christian, to join in idolatrous rites on the emperor's birthday. The registrar, Cassius, who likewise declared himself a Christian, was also beheaded for his refusal to write out the sentence. The body of Marcellus being conveyed to Leon, he became the patron saint of the parish church there.[1] During the first three centuries mention is several times made of bishops of Tingis, but the existence of sees does not necessarily imply the existence of churches, and it would be a mistake to infer too much therefrom.

The Mohammedan Era.

Even when, at the dawn of the Mohammedan Era, we find Arab generals subduing numbers of Christians,[2] it is possible that the latter were no more natives than the Jews whom they subdued at the same time.* It is, moreover, doubtful if the statements to this effect should be taken seriously at all, since they cannot be traced to the time itself, and should that be possible, the habit of Moorish writers to class all who are followers neither of Moses nor of Mohammed as followers of Christ, might mislead us. The records of the Muslim invasions give the scantiest information about the heathen who undoubtedly comprised the majority of the inhabitants.†

* Ibn Khaldûn declares that when the Franks (Vandals) subjugated the Berbers, they made them take their religion, which they professed till the Mohammedans came—(vol. ii., p. 359).

† Ibn Khaldûn says of the Sanhajà that they had not adopted Christianity —(vol. i., p. 212).

Gayangos remarks (El Makkárî, bk. iv., ch. i., note 15): "The Berbers were sunk in the grossest ignorance; a few only professed Christianity, a considerable portion still worshipped idols, but the greatest number professed Judaism."

1 GODARD, p. 259. 2 RAÔP EL ḴARṬÁS, p. 16; IBN KHALDÛN, vol. i., p. 209.

Et-Tijáni, however, has been quoted as remarking of "the Maghrib"—a term which might be understood to include Morocco or not—that "the proof that this country was conquered without resistance lies in the existence in our own day of the Christian churches, although in ruins, since they were not demolished by the conquerors, who contented themselves with constructing a mosque opposite to each of them.*[1] But Et-Tijáni confined his attention exclusively to Tunis, of which he wrote a historical description, so that the question of pre-Islámic Christianity in the "Far West" is not affected by his statement. Gregory IX., too, has been held to have had ancient native churches in his mind when he addressed a letter to the Moroccan church announcing the appointment of a bishop to the newly created see of Fez, congratulating it upon its increase.† But as the Franciscans had already been at work in this country for nearly twenty years, it is equally probable that their converts only were in his mind.

Cir. 1309.

A Papal Bull. 1237.

Of possible remains of whatever early Christianity may have existed in Morocco nothing very definite can be said. Although several writers have perceived in certain Berber customs traces of Christian belief,‡ it is quite as likely, if not more so, that these

Possible Traces.

* In Spain and elsewhere, *e.g.* Damascus, it was the custom in cities which capitulated to permit the Christians to retain one half of the principal church, the other half being converted into a mosque. This was the case with the church of St. Vincent at Córdova, now the great mosque-cathedral.[2]

† His words are: "Laetamur quod ecclesia Marrochitana, sterilis hactenus, fecunda nunc redditur, et synagoga peccantum, quæ multos habebat filios, infirmatur."[3]

‡ *e.g.* Mr. W. D. Rockafellar in *The Gospel Message*, writing of tribes he had visited near Mequinez: "Strange to say, among these Berbers a remnant of Christianity is found. The women honour the first day of the week by

1 Quoted by Mas Latrie.
2 El Makkári (Gayangos, vol. i., p. 217), on authority of Er-Rázi.
3 Collection of Mas Latrie, pt. ii., p. 11.

only date from the settlements of Christian slaves, who must have left no inconsiderable impress on the native population. To these early captives probably belonged the Christian cemetery containing rude carved gravestones, the ruins of which the first Franciscans found at Marrákesh.[1] And the Christians whom Torres[2] in the sixteenth, and De la Croix[3] in the seventeenth centuries, encountered in the Atlas mountains were without doubt their descendants, though as indistinguishable from their neighbours as

doing no work in wool on that day. They work at everything else, but washing, carding, spinning, and weaving are among their principal occupations, and these they never do on Sunday. They say this is to honour the day, but they know not why." Miss Copping also has recorded in *North Africa* a still more interesting experience: "One Friday a large company of women came as usual, and amongst them some very interesting country women; they called themselves the children of Ezra. I was astonished to find tattooed on their bodies the 'Story of the Cross of Christ'—each detail of our Lord's humiliation for us. The most perfect picture was one representing a cross in the centre, and a smaller cross on each side. The centre cross had footstones, and three marks above it representing the three inscriptions and the Trinity; even the spear that pierced the side and the lots cast for the garment were wonderfully marked. I so wished I could send you a sketch of it. On the back of each leg was a perfect fine straight mark representing the narrow path of the Christian faith. Then on each side of the line were set Maltese crosses representing the twelve apostles. This woman had some words on her right shoulder in Hebrew. They probably belong to some Jewish tribe, whose ancestors accepted the Lord Jesus as their Saviour, and when forced to call themselves Moslems have thus tattooed the children of each generation in the hope that someone seeing them might teach them of their crucified Lord, and lead them into the way of life. . . . A few days after I had seen the woman previously mentioned, a young woman came in after the time was up; but as she was suffering from fever I treated her. I have known her ever since we first came to Fez, and yet had never noticed that she had the 'Story of the Cross' tattooed on her arm. She herself did not know anything about its meaning, and says she supposes her mother or grandmother, whom she never knew, must have marked her. She was in tears as I told her of all the Saviour suffered for her as well as for us." See also Hay. In Egypt the introduction of crosses among the tattoo marks is distinctive of the Copts or ancient Egyptian Christians.[4] Leo mentions the people of Bougie in Algeria as wearing black crosses on their cheeks.[5]

[1] PUERTO, p. 155. [2] Paris ed., p. 161. [3] vol. i., p. 141.
[4] See LANE'S *Modern Egyptians*, p. 531. [5] Hakluyt ed., p. 740.

the descendants of the Moors who stayed in Spain are from the modern Spaniards.

Striking Traditions.

There are several places which still preserve traditions of a Christian origin, as the little town of Bahalîl near Sefrû. De Foucauld[1] also cites the ruins of Tasgelt, near Tikirt, beyond Beni Malál, an ancient amphitheatre-like citadel, with caverns in the rock. Similar ruins at Tassaût Zelfa and Taskûkt on the Imin-i-Shtûka, are said to have been the residences of three princesses, the daughters of a Christian king whom the Mohammedans overcame, but such traditions are far too vague for theory building. Some caverns on the top of the Kîsán hills, close to the Drâa, are attributed to Christians, and every ruin indiscriminately attributed to "Rûm"* has similar legends attached.

Modern Missions.

Modern Christian missions to Morocco date from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Francis of Assisi dismissed his foremost disciples with a letter from the pope, and with a circular epistle from himself, bearing this superscription: "To all Potentates, Governors, Consuls, Judges, and Magistrates on Earth, and to all Others to whom these presents shall come, brother Francis, your unworthy servant in the Lord, sendeth greeting and peace."[2] Armed with these comprehensive credentials, his faithful followers dispersed in every direction. In Spain they entered the mosques of Seville and preached the Gospel where now the cathedral stands, being led away to prisons where they preached again, and thence to dungeons from which they came forth but for martyrdom.[3]

To Morocco came others who were to have been

* See note on the use of this word in chapter i., p. 12.

[1] pp. 93, 217.

[2] MALAN, *L'Histoire de St. François d'Assise*, Paris, 1845; DELÉCLUSE, *Vie de St. F. d'A.*, Paris, 1844, etc., and STEPHENS, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.*

[3] PUERTO, p. 92.

accompanied by their leader himself, since he had been prevented from his intended journey to convert the Turks in Syria, but on reaching Compostella in Galicia he had been recalled to Rome. The new-comers found a "friend at Court" in the person of the brother of the king of Portugal, to whom the ameer Yûsef III. was affording protection in return for the instruction of his Christian mercenaries. Yet twice they were deported to Ceuta for shipment to Spain, though only to escape each time and return to Marrákesh, where their energy prevented their being protected even by the great man to whose retinue they were attached, and five of the second party of six appointed in 1219 arrived only to meet their death.*[1]

Francis of Assisi a Volunteer.

1214.

1220.

The story told by Fray de el Puerto, chronicler of the mission, is that when they ventured to deliver their message in the presence of the ameer, he was so enraged, that having had them stoned, he beheaded them with his own hands and caused their bodies to be burned. But such a hold had they gained upon the populace, he adds, that they were considered saints even by the Moors, whose prayers for rain made upon the scene of their execution were granted, while a fearful plague soon after devastated the kingdom. The ameer was therefore induced to regard this as a Divine retribution for the death of these innocent men, and by way of expiation he permitted the erection of five Christian churches, one in memory of each.[2] Of these no record is available, save of the one in Marrákesh. Subsequently the bodies of these martyrs were conveyed

Their First Martyrs.

* Yet Abd el Wáḥhîd affirms (1893, pp. 192 and 223) that neither synagogue nor church was permitted in the Empire under the Muwáḥḥadîs; that the Jews all professed Islám, praying in the mosques and teaching their children the Ḳor'án, but adding, "God alone knows what they hide in their hearts, and what their houses contain."

[1] PUERTO, p. 98. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

to Portugal; they were canonised in 1481. Next year seven brave men arrived, who suffered martyrdom at Ceuta, whence their bodies were transported some time afterwards to Marrákesh,* and thence to Portugal. They were canonised in 1516.

AUDIENCE OF REDEMPTIONIST FATHERS IN 1704
(From Busnot, 1714)

The Morocco mission was then handed over to the con-
1225. trol of the "Seraphic Order,"[1] under the direct care of the Church of Rome, in which the evangelical lay brotherhood established by Francis of Assisi became

* By a curious coincidence a common native epithet for Marrákesh is "Es-Sebâtu Rijál—[the city of] the seven men"—referring to its local saint shrines. See *The Moors*, chap. xix.

[1] PUERTO, p. 104.

1226. absorbed just before the death of its founder. In this year Honorius III. addressed a bull[1] to the members in Morocco, authorising them to modify their rules so far as to wear their beards according to the custom of the country, where there are few things laying greater claim to respect, to make a change in their costume, and to carry money for alms.

Thus was inaugurated a new era for the Morocco mission, to which a bishop, Agnellus, was appointed by Gregory IX. Although styled in the papal letter Bishop of Fez, he resided in Marrákesh. He brought with him two letters* for Idrees III. (el Mámûn), who, however, had died the previous year. One of them contained an exposition of Christianity, and of this copies were sent to the rulers of Damascus and Baghdád; the other, of a more personal nature, promised a hundred-fold glory on earth and a kingdom in heaven, if he would but embrace Christianity, concluding: "As for us, we will accord you in that case the greatest favours for the increase of your glory and magnificence. If you continue, on the contrary, to prefer to be the enemy of Christ to being His friend, we cannot allow, as it is our duty not to allow, that the faithful to Christ be engaged in your service."[2] Rasheed I., the son of Idrees by a Christian wife, who succeeded with the aid of Castilian troops, received the letters, and showed favour to the bishop, which secured a special letter of thanks from the pope.[3]

The First Bishop.

1233.

Agnellus was replaced, on his death, by Lupus, who brought a letter from Innocent IV. This stated that

* Dated Feb. 15 and May 27, 1233.

1 Collection of MAS LATRIE, pt. ii, p. 9.
2 *Bullarium Magnum*; and WADDINGUS, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*.
3 MAS LATRIE.

The "Marrochitana Ecclesia."

the "Marrochitana Ecclesia" was the only one in these parts, therein doubtless including the
1264. whole of Barbary, since the see of the new bishop extended to Tunis.[1] The same year, on the 31st of October, the pope wrote again to 'Ali IV. (Sáïd el Moâtadid),[2] as "King of Ceuta," entreating him to become a Christian, and to be received among the Powers, promising to place his kingdom "under our especial protection and in the keeping of the apostolic see. Then, by the authority with which God has invested the Church, we will arrest all aggression of your adversaries"—rather a large undertaking for the papacy, even in those days.

By this time the good friars had so thoroughly won the esteem of the ameer that he employed three of them to make peace with the people of Fez, who were supporting the rival and rising house of the Beni Marîn. The

Friars Welcomed.

Fásîs were so struck with the virtues of the intermediaries that they invited them to settle among them, as also did the men of Mequinez, and in consequence they soon had churches established in both of these centres. Blancus, the third bishop, who suc-
1274. ceeded, was the last appointed from Rome, as Sancho IV. of Leon and Castille had purchased the right of presentation to its bishopric by a gift to the Church of Morocco of lands at the mouth of the
1289. Guád-al-quivir.[3] So Nicholas IV. appointed Friar Rodriguez, who was also his legate, to Tlemçen and Tunis.

Thenceforward for a hundred years the record is broken. The next names known are those of Diego de
1405. Xeres, who succeeded Bishop Angel, and of
1413. Aydomar of Orleans, presented to John XXIII. the antipope, by João I. of Portugal—he who conquered

[1] Mas Latrie, *Traités*, pt. ii., p. 13. [2] l.c., p. 14. [3] Godard, p. 377.

1415. Ceuta. Then came Pedro,[1] a Franciscan, appointed by Martin V. (Otho Colonna), who deserted Marrákesh for Ceuta, of which complaint was made to the pope, and, in consequence, Martin de Cardeñas, another Franciscan, was

The Bishopric Deserted.

1419. nominated Vicar Apostolic of Morocco.[2] Since that date the bishopric has been practically confined to Ceuta, and has been occupied by Portuguese or Spaniards,

1487. though at least one Italian was consecrated Bishop of Morocco at Oxford—Pietro de Monte Molino.

1836. Nevertheless, a modern pastoral letter to the Catholics dispersed throughout the Empire was addressed in French by Marie Nich. Sylv. Guillon as "Bishop of Morocco." Jurisdiction in Morocco proper ceased with the fall of the Beni Marîn, at whose rise the see had been established, though actually under Muwáḥḥadi rule. El Mámûn had, indeed, declared that there was no other mahdi than Christ;[3] and one of the charges brought against the Beni Marîn by the house of shareefs who supplanted them, was the favour they had shown to Christians.*

During these two centuries the faithful missionaries had been toiling with occasional success and frequent persecutions. Among other names it is of interest to notice those of two English friars, Gilbert and Edward, who suffered death in Marrákesh,

English Martyrs in Morocco.

1255.

1262. where two more, Patrick and William, were afterwards burned.[4] Nicholas Firmy and Sylvester,

1326. English monks, were imprisoned in Marrákesh. Two cen-

* In Spain we read that the Moorish ameers succeeded to the right of representation to bishoprics, and when a bishop refused to attend their councils, put a Jew or a Mohammedan in his place.[5]

[1] Mas Latrie, *Relations*, p. 456. [2] Waddingus. [3] Ibn Khaldûn.
[4] Sylvestre Calvo, *Resumen de las Prerogativos del Orden, etc.*, pt. iii., p. 207, etc., Pamplona, 1791.
[5] Dozy, vol. ii., p. 47; *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*, c. 129; and Samson, *Apolog.*, l. ii., c. 8.

turies later Anthony of St. Mary, an Irish Dominican, brought here as a slave from Algeria, refused to leave until someone took his place.[1] At that time there were no resident priests in Marrákesh, though we read of the
1530. martyrdom of Andrea (or Martin) de Spoleta,*
1578. and of later arrivals. To supply this lack a

MISSION SCHOOL CHILDREN AT TANGIER

Moor had been sent by the European slaves there to buy a priest in Algeria.

From this time till two successive superiors were put

* This was an Italian Cordelier who came to Fez in 1530 under the protection of the ameer's brother. "But incurring the jealousy of the Jewish Rabbis, owing to his worsting them in argument, he was accused of conspiracy and magic, and, after being tortured, was done to death by a lance-thrust and a blow from a tile thrown at him." See *Passio gloriosi martyris beati fratris Andreae de Spoleto.* Tolosæ, 1532.

[1] GODARD, p. 497.

1627 and 1631. to death, their work continued with few interruptions, though necessitating constant reinforcements. But from the latter date the survivors remained in
1686. prison for six years. Forty years later they were all banished to Ceuta, except one who remained as a slave; and when they were at last permitted to return, their present of strange birds for the sultan was sent back from El Ḳaṣar as unfit for food, while they were nearly sent back too. On another occasion, when they had been ordered to quit the country, a reversal of the edict was obtained by the intercession of a slave
1668. who was "another Joseph";[1] and when they had been imprisoned at the request of a Grand Rabbi who viewed with alarm their labours among his people, they were only able to escape from being burned by pleading the Ḳoránic injunction to treat Christian teachers well, and by paying two thousand dollars. Not to be deprived of the show, Mulai Rasheed had the Grand Rabbi and a Jewess with her two sons burned instead.[2] In addition to the resident friars there were for some centuries frequently arriving parties of Redemptionist Fathers, and all were at times subjected to persecution. Sometimes, on the other hand, not only were the friars employed as envoys from the Courts of Spain and France to Morocco, but also from the Moorish Court to Europe, and were granted many privileges while the caprice continued. Once they were
1693. accorded permission to traverse the whole Empire, and next year the corsairs were forbidden to enslave them, while their goods were exempted from
1704. customs duty. At one time authority was granted them to administer justice among Christians.[3]

Persecution.

The Tables Turned.

Fray de el Puerto—then at the head of the mission—reckoned the number deserving of canonisation as

[1] Puerto, p. 68ᶜ. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 596. [3] Godard, p. 531.

1700. martyrs at twelve,[1] and a century later
Self-sacrificing Labours. Waddingus makes up thirteen.[2] There can be no question that Morocco may boast of having been the scene of some of the most noble and self-sacrificing labours in the cause of Christ. In addition to those who have already been referred to may be mentioned Julio de el Puerto, who suffered in Fez at the end of
1556. the fourteenth century,[3] Michael Aguilon,
1585. martyred at Azîla, Peter Elenis[4] and Juan del
1631. Prado. The last named suffered at Marrákesh at the age of sixty-four, being first tied to a column and lashed, then stabbed by the sultan and burned while still alive, amid a shower of stones.[5]

Francisco de el Puerto, who might have had his information from eye-witnesses, relates that many saw angels descending to crown this last martyr,
Strange Credulity. and heard their voices,[6] and that marvellous fires appeared on his grave, where dew fell while it was dry all round.[7] His remains were eventually carried to Spain. The same writer tells how, on the way up to Marrákesh from Azammûr, when left without food among a hostile population, Prado and his party, on going aside to pray, found a cloth and napkins spread on the ground—a custom unknown to the Moors—with bread and fish waiting for them.[8]

Among the Portuguese prisoners taken at the battle of
1578. El Ḳaṣár was Tomas de Andrada, who, when released by purchase, preferred to remain in Marrákesh for the good of the Christian slaves—then numbering seven thousand—replying, "Bond or free I wish to die in Morocco, bound for the bondmen." While captive in a maṭmôrah beneath the ground he had written a touching

1 p. 829. 2 *Index Martyriarum*, p. civ. 3 REMON, *Hist. Gen.*, vol. i., p. 444.
4 Record Office, Dom. Ser., vol. 1581–90, No. 85.
5 MATIAS (his companion), p. 90. 6 chapter xxviii. 7 p. 318. 8 p. 225.

work, *Trabalhos de Jesus*,* and also a play on the life of St. Augustine, which was acted in Marrákesh.[1] Several renegades were by his efforts reclaimed, and in consequence one, Pedro Navarro, alias Kaid Aḥmad, suffered death by crucifixion.

Crucifixion.

This method of punishment was at one time much in vogue in Morocco,† but because the Christians esteemed it an especial honour and embraced the cross—in consequence of which the people thought that God withheld the rain—it was abolished as far as they were concerned. In that year a converted Moor, christened Tristram d'Alayde after the governor of Mazagan, for venturing to preach in the markets, and even in the palace, was condemned to be slowly beheaded instead, in order to afford time for recantation. But on the contrary he prayed, and when his blood began to flow he caught it in his hand, and asked that as he had not yet been baptised this might be accepted as his baptism.[2]

1550.

The same author narrates[3] that an old man looking like a savage, with long hair and matted beard, ascended

* Published also in Italian, Spanish, and French, in the last named by Lecoffre, Paris, 1851, in two vols., 12 mo. This work is not to be confounded with that of Alonso de Andrada, an English edition of which, entitled *Daily Meditations on the Lives of Jesus Christ and the Saints*, was published in London in 1878, from the Spanish of 1674, which bore the title, *Itinerario historical, el qual debe guardar el hombre para caminar al cielo*, Toledo, 1592, 1672, etc. See De Backer, *Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 1 serie, p. 15, etc.

† In Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás the crucifixion of rebels at Marrákesh in the twelfth century is recorded at pp. 276 and 277. A heretic mûḥḥdhen of Tlemçen was crucified in 851, exclaiming, "Will you kill a man for saying God is my Lord?" (p. 131), and Abu Thábit, *cir.* 1306, crucified thirty robbers on the walls of Rábat (p. 555). As late as 1727 five Moors were crucified in Mequinez for killing an important Jew. (Braithwaite, p. 252.) At times a dead body has been crucified, as in Abd el Wáḥḥîd (p. 241). About 742 'Abd el Málek of Spain was crucified at Córdova by the Syrians between a dog and a pig. (Dozy, vol. i., p. 262.)

[1] Nic. Antonio, vol. ii., p. 246; Godard, p. 445. [2] Torres, an eye-witness, p. 136.
[3] p. 189. See also Mendoca, p. 169, and El Puerto.

1548. the pulpit after the imám had finished his sermon at a Friday service in Marrákesh, and proclaimed in Arabic, "Christ lives! Christ conquers! Christ rules! Christ will come again to judge the quick and the dead! All else is mockery." He turned out to have been a renegade, but as he was considered a fool he was permitted to escape.

Results.

It is impossible to estimate the full results of all these lives spent in Morocco, but throughout the records there are given instances of Moors converted, although there at no time appears to have been gathered anything resembling a native church,* and many of the stories seem to point to personal interest far more than faith. Innocent IV. showed by a letter which he 1245. addressed to the knights of St. James,[1] that he anticipated the conversion of the "King of Salli,"† for he authorised their grand master to accept his states when he accepted Christ and St. James, but it is not likely that there was much ground for his expectations. Remarkable accounts of various other "royal converts," who from time to time excited interest, are also on record. Of these was Ḳásem (?)—son of Ṣâïd el Waṭṭás, exiled by Mohammed, the founder of the Sâádi dynasty—who died under the name of Gaspar de Beni Marin at the reputed age of one hundred, 1641. being buried at Naples, where his epitaph long existed in the church of Sta. Maria della Concordia. For distinguished services rendered in the Low Countries and

* Gramaye (*Afric. Illustr.*, p. 57) says that native Christians in Morocco in the eighteenth century used an Arabic translation of Mozarabic liturgy handed down from the Visigoth Church, but there is no foundation for such a statement.[2]

† "Zeid Aazon, rex Zali illustris, divinatus inspiratus, desiderans baptismatis unda renasci." This Sâïd was 'Ali IV. (Sâïd el Moâtadîd).

1 Mas Latrie's Collection, pt. ii., p. 12.
2 See Migné's *Patrologie;* and Godard, p. 364.

Converted Princes.

Hungary against the Protestants, under Felipe II. and the Emperor Rudolf, Urban VIII. appointed Gaspar Commander of the Order of the Immaculate Conception. One of the sons of 'Abd Allah III., who died in 1524, appears also to have embraced the Christian religion on fleeing to Spain, in the hope of securing assistance against his brothers.[1]

Equally strange were the stories of Mulai el 'Arbi and Mulai Mohammed et-Tázi, the former of whom, a nephew of Mulai Rasheed, took refuge at Laraiche, and passing thence to Spain, was baptised at Puerto Santa Maria by the name of Augustin de Cerda, and became a monk.[2]

1669. An anonymous letter, published in Lille,[3] evidently emanating from a Jesuit, relates how the latter, a son of the then late King of Morocco (Mohammed XV. or Ahmad VI., whose name however is not given), having been captured by the Knights of Malta on his way by sea to Mekka, and having obtained his liberty by borrowing one hundred thousand gold crowns from the Bey of Tunis, embraced Christianity, taking the name of Balthazar de Loyola de Mendez, and became a Jesuit priest at Messina. This news so troubled his queen that she died, and his son succeeded. "Quitting the purple to adopt the livery of Jesus Christ," he was received by Pope Alexander VII., and afterwards preached throughout the country with such effect that at Naples alone one hundred and fifty Turks were converted. The Grand Mufti of Islám was also convinced by one of his letters, and coming to join him,

1667. was baptised at Florence. In Toulouse he preached to enormous crowds in Italian, and everywhere he appears to have been announced and received as a king who had abandoned two crowns, those of Fez and Morocco, but a good deal of credulity was exercised somewhere. The story leaves him starting as a missionary

[1] Ro. C. [2] GODARD, p. 507. [3] In DR. BROWN'S Collection.

to the Indies and the empire of the Great Mogul. A son of the "Mulai es-Sheïkh" who delivered Laraiche to the Spaniards in return for assistance, fled to France and was there baptised.[1] Later on Ahmad bin Náṣar, a grandson of Mulai Ismâïl, took refuge in Ceuta, whence
1733. he crossed to Spain and Rome, and wrote to Louis XV. asking him to be his god-father.[2]

Of less important converts there are naturally fewer traces, but one or two recorded by Puerto are worthy
Other Conversions. of mention.* At one time many conversions
1637. took place among the Moors, the men being sent to Spanish ports for baptism.[3] About the same time the brother of a governor of Azammûr, a shareef, detained in Mazagan as his hostage, became a Christian, and was baptised in Madrid with Philip IV. as sponsor.[4] A still more remarkable story is told by Torres,[5] not half a century later than the alleged occurrence, of a blind Moor whose sight was restored by a drop of blood which fell from the corpse of Fernando, Prince of Portugal. This Prince was left as a hostage for the surrender of
1437. Ceuta after the unsuccessful attempt on Tangier,[6] and when he died his body was hung out over the walls of Fez. The Moor, having thereupon professed the faith of the Christian prince, was put to death, and was buried outside New Fez, where Torres saw his tomb, an object of veneration even to the Moors. The graves of the Capucin Fathers who died of the plague, contracted

* In 1623 there was published in Paris the "Histoire veritable de la mort souferte par frère Bernadin, religieux de l'ordre de S. Augustin, pour avoir par ses prédications converti deux mille infidèles à la foi Catholique en la ville et cité de Marque en Barbarie." Menezes (p. 63) tells of many conversions by force in the sixteenth century, the victims of which all returned to Islám. Seven young Moorish converts, who died as martyrs for their faith, are referred to by Bernadinus de S. Antonio, historian of the Trinitarian Fathers. (Latin Ed. of 1624, p. 92.)

1 El Puerto, p. 254. 2 Thomassy. 3 p. 442. 4 pp. 373, 376. 5 p. 409.
6 See description of Tangier in *The Land of the Moors;* Camoens, *Lusiad*, iv. 52.

in nursing their fellow prisoners, were revered by the Moors as those of saints.[1]

Jewish Converts.

Among the Jews, too, there were converts, a fact which at one time induced complaints to the authorities, with the result that it was declared lawful for Jews to change their religion, though a few years later the permission was restricted to such as desired to turn Mohammedans.[2] Two Redemptionist Fathers from Paris,

1408. Denis and Sévérin, brought back a rabbi who had been converted by their means,[3] but more remarkable still was the history of Rabbi Samuel "Marrochianus," who accepted Christ in Toledo in the eleventh century, and was the author of an Arabic treatise proving Him to be the Messiah.* Another chief rabbi who acknowledged the

1627. Christ sought an invitation to Paris, there to teach Hebrew.[4] In recent years again there have been cases of converted Jews in Morocco; the members of one family, that of Benoliel of Tangier, had to flee thence, thus furnishing several Christian missionaries for other

* This ably-written treatise is given in full in Migné's *Patrology*, vol. cxlix., pp. 334–371, under the title "De Adventu Messiae quem Judaei temere expectant." Its date is given as A.C. 1072; it was translated into Latin from the original Arabic in 1339 by a Dominican, Alphonsus Bonihominis, and is taken from the *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*, vol. xviii., p. 518. (See also POSSEVINUS, *Apparatus Sacer*, vol. ii. p. 190.) In the Argentine edition of 1523 the author is described as rabbi of the synagogue of "Sulijulmenta" (Sajilmása ?) in the kingdom of Morocco, he himself belonging to Fez. His work commences by showing how the wrath of God rests on His people; that all their sufferings and dispersion result from their disobedience, as in the days of their captivity, and that in consequence of the unjust death of Christ, the tribulation foretold by Daniel has come upon them. He then explains the first and second coming of Christ, and shows that since His first coming Jewish worship has been done away with, being replaced by that of the Christians, the apostles replacing the prophets, the church the synagogue, and the sacrament the sacrifice. He concludes by declaring his willingly blind brethren to be apostates from God, even worse than the Mohammedans, who at least accept Jesus as the Christ.

[1] D'ANGERS, p. 75. [2] PUERTO, p. 484.
[3] REMON, *Hist. gen. de la Orden de N. S. de la Merced.* [4] D'ANGERS, p. 75.

lands. Few have remained in the country, and not always those who were most satisfactory.

Of Christian churches in Morocco our earliest record goes back to that erected in Marrákesh as one of the conditions on which the king of Spain supplied *Christian Churches.* 1233. Idrees el Mámûn with Castilian mercenaries.[1] This church was destroyed a few years later by Yáḥyà, the rival whom the Christians had been hired to fight.[2] The same fate befell all Christian buildings erected for the next four centuries, of which there is nothing definite known. The Marrákesh church was 1637. rebuilt under the friars who had come as envoys from the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and was dedicated to "Our Lady of the Conception," in the name of the pope and the king of Spain.

This church was then embellished with titles, pictures, and statues,[3] which undoubtedly confirmed the Moors in their ideas of Christian idolatry,* stirring them up to 1653. sack it, which they did. According to El Puerto this was done under the direction of a Protestant slave, but was permitted by the sultan on account of the capture of his library by Spain. A convent and infirmary had also been erected, and by a decree of Mulai Ahmad es- 1637. Sheïkh[4] the possession of these buildings and of the cemetery adjoining the prison of the European slaves was secured to the Franciscans. Nevertheless they were expelled soon after by 'Abd el Ḳarîm bin Abû Bakr, when, according to the chronicler,[5] the new owner was thrown from his horse, and his son fell down dead

* When Laraiche fell, in 1690, four of the statues of virgins and saints which were captured were brought up to Mequinez, where, after they had been spat at and beaten by Mulai Ismâïl himself, they were each exchanged for a Moor, and were sent to Spain.

1 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 356; and Mas Latrie, *Relations*, p. 134.
2 Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 363.
3 El Puerto.
4 Given by El Puerto, p. 423.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 556.

while playing with the keys. The keys were returned to the sultan, and the convent was demolished, the friars taking refuge in the house of a Jew till leave was given to erect a chapel in the ḳaṣbah.[1]

Removal to Fez and Mequinez.

These commotions brought about the removal of the friars to Fez and Tetuan. The property in Marrákesh was left in the care of the Armenian Catholic merchants there established,[2] and with the assist-

1672. ance of free labour and contributions, the first church in the northern capital of which we have a definite record was built. But the new sultan, Mulai Ismâïl, making Mequinez his residence, the friars had another move, and at first were fairly well treated, always being privileged and free to do what they could for the captives. In the Spanish church in the prison they were able to have "incense, music—vocal and instrumental—tapers, choristers dressed as angels, and fireworks for fêtes,"[3] but Ismâïl commanded the removal of the images,

1693. fearing lest they were the cause of drought.[4] Such accounts reached Rome of the state of things there that it was proposed to revive the bishopric, but the idea was abandoned lest it might tempt the Moors to interfere.

Withdrawal to the Coast.

With the extinction of the Salli rovers and the traffic in Christian slaves, the chief need for the presence of the friars in the interior ceased, and the estab-

1790. lishments in Fez, Mequinez and Tetuan were abandoned. Since then the increasing European population of the coast towns has required them in the ports, where they have remained, their headquarters

1750. having been established in Tangier. When

1760. Mogador was built, a chapel was erected there which remained in use till 1813, where now the Spanish

[1] Given by El Puerto, p. 560.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 618.
[3] Godard, p. 531.
[4] Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 283.

1859. consulate stands. Since the Spanish war the friars have possessed a substantial church and convent in Tetuan, adjoining the Spanish consulate, and from time to time subsidiary stations have been opened at most of the other ports as the Spanish colonies have grown, first at 1868. Casablanca, Mazagan, and Mogador, and during the eighties at Saffi, Laraiche, and Rabat. A station had been maintained at Laraiche till 1822.[1] Last year a church 1893. was opened in Mazagan.

The Franciscan Missionaries.

Just before the Spanish war this mission received an impetus, in common with all Franciscan missions, from the establishment of a missionary college for the Order, through which it has since been supplied, chiefly from the monastery of Chipiona, near Cadiz, set apart for this purpose. During the war the friars were obliged to quit the country, but they were sent over with the Spanish army to tend the wounded, which they did with loving care. Everywhere they go throughout Morocco they are most highly respected, for they have almost invariably been men of warm hearts and good character, a trifle bigoted perhaps, but earnest, and sometimes numbering scholars among them. Such was the late universally beloved Padre Lerchundi, the author of the most important existing 1896. works on Morocco Arabic, who died bishop-elect of Ceuta.

Existing Mission Stations.

Each Franciscan mission station is in charge of two priests and two laymen, with the exception of Tangier—where there are seven priests, as many laymen, and as many nuns of the sister Order of Clarisses*—and Tetuan, where there are four priests and three lay brothers. To each of these missions are attached free elementary schools for boys, and in

* Otherwise the Third Order of St. Francis, trained at a college in Barcelona.

[1] ROHLFS, p. 233.

Tangier for girls also,* while at the Spanish hospital
1883. opened in Tangier under the direction of this mission some of the friars and a few natives study medicine at the expense of the Spanish government. The use of bells, though so much disliked in most Mohammedan countries that a clause is sometimes inserted against it in the treaties, is here permitted, a privilege dating
1228. probably from the permission granted to the Christian mercenaries.

Although the good "padres" and "frailes" of to-day would certainly rejoice as much as any of their predecessors over the conversion of Mohammedans—provided always that it were to the Romish persuasion—their attention has for long been directed to Europeans alone, and though according to their conception of it they have done their duty in opposing the evangelical missions, they have not for many a year shown zeal themselves in the making of converts.

Treaty Rights of Missions.

By the treaty of Wád Rás, which followed the Spanish war, ample privileges were secured to this mission, and by the "most favoured nation" clauses of other treaties, the same rights are secured to missionaries from any other friendly nation. Says the clause in question:—

"His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco, following the example of his illustrious ancestors, who extended such effective and special protection to the Spanish missionaries, authorises the establishment in the city of Fez of a Spanish mission house, and confirms in their favour all the privileges which former sovereigns of Morocco have conceded in their favour. The said missionaries, in whatever part of the Moorish Empire they

* The total number of pupils in the twenty Franciscan schools last year was three hundred and eighty-seven boys and three hundred and eighty-nine girls. The number of priests and laymen engaged was fifty-five. For these statistics I am indebted to the present "Prefecto Apostolico de Marruecos," Fray Francisco Ma. Cervera.

may be, or may settle, may freely attend to the exercise of their holy offices, and their persons, houses, and houses of charity, shall enjoy all security and necessary protection. His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco will give the requisite instructions to his authorities and delegates that they may at all times fulfil the stipulations contained in this article."

Protestant Missions.

Protestant mission work in Morocco is of altogether recent introduction, the "London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews" having been first in the field. After a commencement
1844. interrupted by the war with France, this
1875. Society established its one station at Mogador under the late Rev. J. B. Crighton-Ginsburg, whose labours there continued till he left for Constantinople after eleven years, leaving M. Th. Zerbib in charge. At his own expense he had fitted up a large room as an English church, which still continues to be used as such, and is the only permanent place of Protestant worship in the Empire, except at Tangier. Here a
1885. temporary iron structure was erected by subscription as the "Pro-church of St. Andrew," which was
1896. sold to the "North Africa Mission" for the Spanish Protestant congregation. A chaste erection of stone has since been raised in the later morisco style, the details of which were borrowed from the Alhambra. The chaplaincy, maintained by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" and local contributions, is usually occupied only in winter, and is included in the diocese of Gibraltar.

Societies at Work.

Definite evangelical work among the Moors was first undertaken by the British and Foreign Bible Society,
1883. which appointed as agent in Tangier Mr. William Mackintosh, formerly of Syria. Next year the "Mission to the Kabyles and other Berber races of North Africa"—now known as the "North

Africa Mission"—then recently established in Algeria, acquired a valuable property on the Marshán, outside Tangier, which has since been its headquarters for Morocco. For several years the Rev. E. F. Baldwin, an American, remained in charge, and saw the work extend to Azîla, under the able direction of Miss Emma
1888. Herdman, who afterwards took two other ladies up to Fez. There, in the face of every obstacle and discouragement, they bravely settled and established a medical mission which still continues, having since been reinforced by others.*

From the first, medical work formed part of the operations in Tangier, where the "Tulloch Memorial Hospital"
The North Africa Mission. was erected beside the mission house, in memory of Miss Hughie Tulloch, the first of
1887. the workers to die at her post, in a room now incorporated in the hospital. Laraiche, Tetuan and Casablanca (where there is a second hospital) were made stations during the next few years, though Laraiche was till recently abandoned. At present the mission supports in Morocco nine male and twenty-seven female workers, three of the former and one of the latter being doctors. One branch of its labours lies among the Spanish-speaking colony at Tangier, and it is there that visible results are greatest.†

The Presbyterian Church of England established a

* While the proof of this page is being revised the news has arrived of Miss Herdman's death on April 24th last, at an advanced age. In her not only the mission, but the cause of civilisation, has lost an able and indefatigable worker, qualified beyond the ordinary for a difficult task. Her remains rest in the Tangier cemetery, near those of a group of missionaries and their children.

† The "North Africa Mission" was formed in 1881 with the object of evangelising all the races within its sphere, from Morocco to Egypt, countries with a population of some thirty millions. The staff consists of nearly a hundred workers, five of whom are doctors, and several trained nurses. Though no salaries are guaranteed, its weekly needs on an extremely

Mr. J. J. Edwards and Miss C. S. Jennings, North Africa Mission

MISSION SERVICE IN THE COURTYARD OF THE TULLOCH MEMORIAL HOSPITAL.

1886. mission at Rabat, directed by Dr. Robert Kerr,
1894. who resigned his connection with that body,
Central & Southern Morocco Missions. and has continued his work as the "Central Morocco Mission." This is steadily making practical Christianity known among the Berber tribesmen who crowd in to the good doctor's dispensary, and bid him welcome to their homes. The "Southern
1888. Morocco Mission" came into existence as a result of the interest taken in the country by Mr. John Anderson of Ardrossan, whose sturdy Scotch friends have earned an excellent name for themselves and their Master in Mogador, Saffi, Mazagan, and Marrákesh.* The last-named station, where they have a hospital, is their head-quarters, under the direction of Mr. Cuthbert Nairn, and their agents number twelve women and nine men.

Spasmodic efforts have been made from time to time by the "Mildmay Mission to the Jews," but such efforts are, as the name implies, restricted to one race, although their representatives have always lent assistance to other workers.

1895. Finally, the "Gospel Union" of Kansas City, U.S.A., sent missionaries to Morocco, under the direction of Mr. Nathan, a Christian Jew, who from Tangier supervises stations in Fez, Mequinez and El Ḳaṣar. Altogether these various missions support at present thirty-three men and forty-nine women.

It is worthy of note that the London Jewish Society alone being denominational, all are able to work together in harmony, their only object being to set forth Christ, and not to spread sects. Although from

Results.

moderate scale amount to over £200. Volumes descriptive of its work have been published by Mrs. Haig, and the Rev. John Rutherford has a handbook in course of preparation. The "Central" and "Southern Morocco Missions" are also "faith missions," with no guaranteed supplies, and all are worthy of the heartiest support.

* A new station has recently been opened at Azammûr.

the nature of the ground they occupy speedy apparent results are not to be anticipated, several conversions have taken place; but not all who have been baptised have been steadfast. There can be no doubt that many more are kept from confessing a change of belief by the fear of the powers that be, and if ever religious liberty is accorded in Morocco, or perhaps before, scoffers at the efforts of the missionaries may be wonderfully disillusionised.

The prejudice and misconception in the native mind as to the facts and aims of Christianity are so great, that it is not till the Moors have long and closely watched the lives of those who come to teach it, that they can be influenced by their message. If nothing else had been achieved beyond raising the Moorish ideas of Christians during these years, a good work would have been accomplished. That this has been the case wherever they have gone, and often far beyond the limits of their journeys, I can testify abundantly from personal experience, and the friendship of the emissaries of the Christian Church among the Moors is a true privilege.

Methods.

The methods employed by all these agencies are identical, consisting chiefly, in addition to the medical work already alluded to, in visitation of the women by their Christian sisters. The latter are able to enter where men never can, and all having some practical acquaintance with medicines and nursing, are made heartily welcome where there is suffering. They are invariably known as ṭabîbas, "doctresses," in itineration through the villages, with which also medical work is combined, and which affords the best of opportunities for personal dealing and the dissemination of the Scriptures. They also tend beggars and provide for orphans, and maintain one or two elementary schools, though educational work meets with most opposition. Sometimes

the missionaries wear the garb of the country, especially in the interior, where "Christian clothes" excite more curiosity than is convenient, and sometimes prejudice. Most Moors appreciate the brotherly feeling shown by adopting their dress, and those who find themselves at home in it experience a wonderful bridging over of the gulf between East and West. But there can never be unrestrained intercourse between Islám and Christianity as long as either remains active, and the old refrain—"En-Naṣárà f' es-senárah wa el Yahûd f'es-sehûd" ("The Nazarenes to the hook and the Jews to the spit"), is still sometimes heard.*

Opposition.

Some years ago, when stations were first opened up country, and there were signs of an increased activity, efforts were made by the Moors, with the support of France and Germany, to prevent a further extension of mission work, alleging that it formed a serious menace to the peace of Morocco, by which European lives and property were threatened throughout the Empire, but experience has so far proved the fallacy of these alarms, political rather than religious, and no trouble need be feared till there comes a pentecostal wave of conversions, for which the missionaries would be willing to lose everything.

Cemeteries.

In the coast towns Christians and other foreigners have special grave-yards, but in the interior those formerly set apart for the burial of Nazarenes have been lost sight of, as also is the case with the old one at Tangier. That now in use there is under the management of the diplomatic body, acting in conjunction with the friars. This year a "Christian" cemetery has been opened outside Marrákesh, thanks to the efforts of the British Minister, Sir Arthur Nicholson.

1899.

* A hook "for slinging Christians" is reported in the Life of Sir J. D. Hay (p. 243 note) as still existing over one of the gates of Marrákesh in 1846.

CHAPTER THE SIXTEENTH

FOREIGN RELATIONS

IT would be an unnecessary expansion of a work like this to enumerate all the negotiations and treaties entered into between Morocco and Europe, but it is of moment to record the more important among them, those in particular by which the still existing privileges were secured.[1] The earliest relations were, of course, informal, and it is impossible at this date to define precisely when they commenced in each case, especially with Christian Spain. Ample details are, however, available for the study of the growth and trend of Moorish intercourse with Europe—details which shed invaluable light upon our present diplomatic dealings with the Moors.

Earliest Relations.

Leaving out of consideration the semi-official envoys who passed to and fro as representatives of commerce or religion—often bearing letters, and even coming to an understanding which, though generally verbal, practically amounted to a treaty—it is with the seaport towns of Italy that the earliest recorded contracts were drawn up. Thus early in the twelfth century two Moorish galleys arrived at Pisa, where a treaty of peace was arranged, which was formally registered later on, and subsequently renewed.[2] The Genoese, about the same time, entered into

1133.

With Pisa and Genoa.

1186, 1211.

[1] For lists of early treaties with Morocco see MARTENS, *Receuil des Traités*, vol. i., pp. 57, 157, etc. See also SCHWEIGHOFER.

[2] MAS LATRIE, *Relations*, p. 68.

similar relations, and their envoy visited Morocco, where
1160. a treaty was concluded. By this eight per cent. was to be paid on all imports, except at Bougie, where, of the ten per cent. to be charged, a fourth was to be returned to Genoa. Venice, Pisa, Marseilles, Aragon and Barcelona had their treaties with Morocco in the fourteenth century,[1] and those with Pisa and the other ports were at intervals renewed. Ceuta had also opened up negotiations with Marseilles[2] and Genoa[3] in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while offensive and defensive alliances were entered into periodically with one or another, as tables turned.

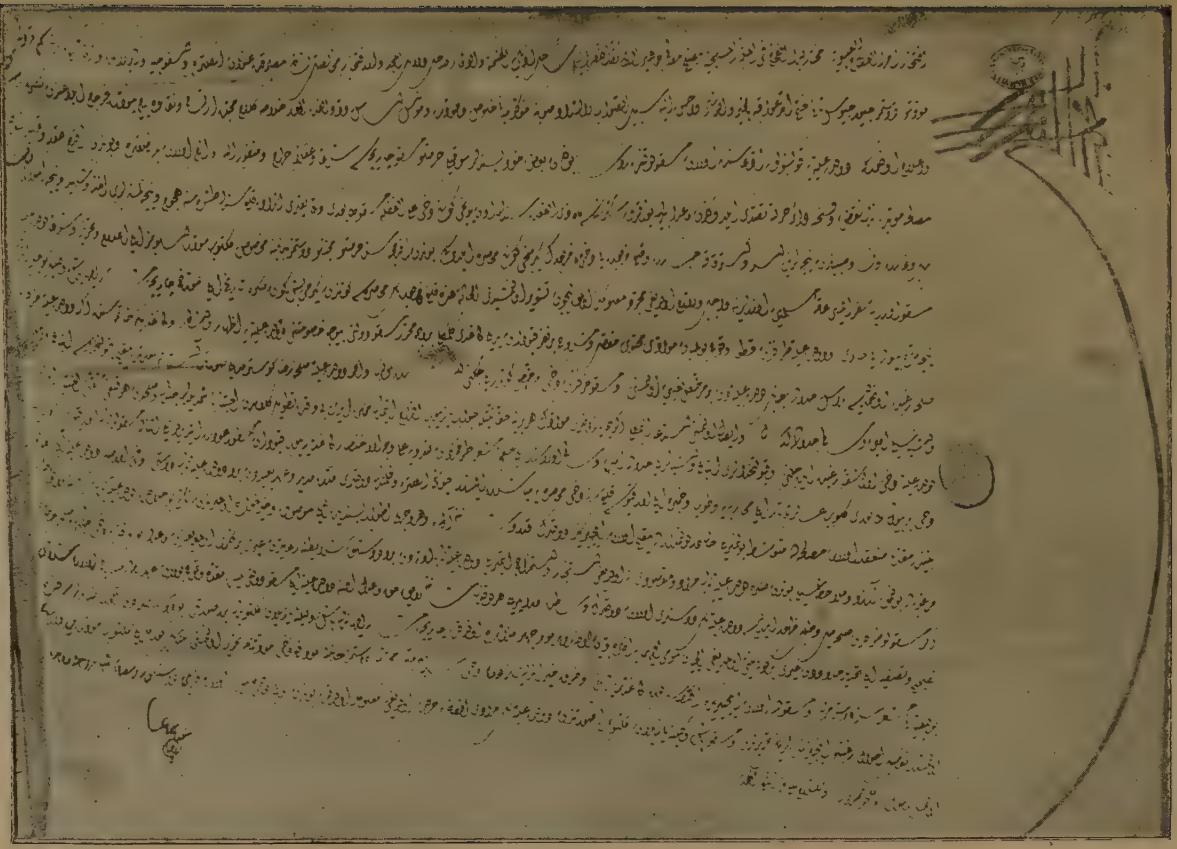
Then, in the state of chaos which succeeded to the height of Empire in Morocco, the fallen fortunes of the Beni Marîn almost put an end to amicable intercourse with Europe. As piracy increased, such intercourse was altogether interrupted, save in the case of ports which the Spanish and Portuguese possessed on the Moorish coast.

With England.

Notwithstanding the alleged appeal of John of England to En-Náṣir of Morocco,[4] there were apparently no formal diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Morocco until the time of Queen Elizabeth. Of the correspondence which then took place several letters are still extant,*[5] but it does not seem to have led to anything definite by way of treaty, though the queen

* In one of the letters preserved in the Public Record Office (1559) the queen signed herself "your sister and relative according to the law of crown and sceptre." Modern Royal Letters, second series, which contains some fine original illuminated letters to Queen Anne (*e.g.* No. 96), mostly inserted upside down, and marked "undated."

1 Capmany, *Memorias historicas sobre . . . Barcelona*, vol. iv., pp. 7, 82.
2 Consul appointed in 1255, Mas Latrie, *Traités*, vol. ii., p. 90.
3 Luing, *Codex Diplom. Italiæ*, vol. i., col. 1118; Bandt, *Algerie*, vol ii., pp. 149–156.
4 Matthew of Paris in *Rohrbacher*, vol. xvii., p. 333. See p. 82.
5 See *Bibliography*, 86-90, 2063. Also Hakluyt, vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 119; and Bib. Harl. Cat., vol. i., p. 176, Cod. 296, Art. 59, with answer in Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 819.



LETTER FROM AHMAD V. OF MOROCCO (EL MANSÛR ED-DHAHEBI) TO QUEEN ELIZABETH
(From original preserved in the Public Record Office)

was promised that her subjects should not be molested or enslaved. English interests out here were as yet hardly important enough, and it was westward that our hopes of enterprise lay. The appeal to Charles I. from Mulai Zîdán for assistance against the Andalucian Moors of Salli, which was granted, might have been taken advantage of to conclude a treaty, had such appeared needful,* but the earliest on record date from the British occupation of Tangier.[1] To this alone they relate, many of them having been entered into with the independent rulers under whom the kingdom had become divided.[2]

It was not till the following century that the first treaty from which we benefit to-day was signed, that of Stewart, at Fez,[3] which was confirmed and extended by that of Russel, also at Fez. These have been supplemented by those of 1734 by Sollicoffre; of 1750 by Petticrew, at Fez; of 1760 by Milbanke, at Fez; of 1783 by Curtis, at Salli;[4] of 1791 by Matra, at Salli (which renewed all existing treaties);[5] of 1801 by the same at Fez;[6] of 1824 by Douglas; of 1845 and 1856 by Hay, at Tangier,[7] and of 1861 by the same.[8]

1721.
1729.
List of Treaties.

From the time that Gibraltar became a British possession it loomed large in our negotiations with Morocco, whence for a long time it was almost entirely provisioned. When we were besieging the Rock supplies were obtained from the Moors in exchange for munitions of war, and we made free use of the Moorish ports by

* It was, indeed, proposed in 1657 to establish a British Consulate in Tetuan, but nothing seems to have been done.[9]

1 Public Record Office, "Tangier," No. 4, 1665.
2 Such as *Ghaïlán*, or *Guyland*. See THOMASSY, p. 227.
3 HERTSLET'S *Treaties*, vol. i., p. 89, etc.
4 Copies of this and the four succeeding treaties are in vol. xxxiii. A of the F. O. Docs. in the Record Office.
5 HERTSLET'S *Treaties*, vol. i., p. 112.
6 A copy of this in Arabic, with a new translation by J. D. Hay, is in the Record Office, F. O. Docs., vol. xxxiii. B, 1837–8.
7 HERTSLET, vol. x., p. 903.
8 *Ibid.*, vol. xi., p. 425.
9 P. R. O., Cal. State Papers, 1656–7, p. 274.

Gibraltar. permission of Mulai Ismâïl. Conventions were signed after the second and third Spanish sieges, empowering the English to purchase provisions in Morocco at current rates, and to export them duty free to Gibraltar.[1] But Sidi Mohammed XVII. wrote to the English ambassador complaining that the ransom of the English slaves released had been paid in powder and cannon to the rebel báshá of Tetuan, that help had also been afforded to his rebel uncle at Azîla, and that the English had been engaged in smuggling at Laraiche, by all of which his so-called friends had done more harm than his open enemies of Portugal and Spain. He therefore declared war on Gibraltar, while desiring to remain friendly with England, adding, "We believe, my father* and I, that the king your master has no knowledge of the behaviour of the Governor of Gibraltar towards us . . . so Gibraltar shall be excluded from the peace which I am willing to consent to between England and us, and by the aid of the Almighty I will know how to avenge myself, when I may, on the English of Gibraltar."†[2]

1720, 1728.

1756.

1734.

At the time of the great siege of Gibraltar by France and Spain, although the Moors had undertaken to keep their ports open to both sides, who were "at liberty to destroy each other in his ports *or on shore*,"[3] yet immediately afterwards, by a promise of £7500 a year, the Spaniards nominally purchased Tetuan and Tangier, from which all British subjects were forthwith ejected.‡[4] Again the

Great Siege of Gibraltar.

1788.

* 'Abd Allah V., for the writer was then only heir-apparent.

† Soon after this the Morocco consulates were for a time placed under the direction of the Governor of Gibraltar, then under the Colonial Office, and in 1836 they were transferred to the Foreign Office.

‡ At the commencement of the siege the sultan offered the exclusive trade of his ports to Britain, but the proposal was treated with neglect or derision.

[1] THOMASSY, pp. 209, 210. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[3] Letter of Gen. Eliot to Lieut.-Gen. Murray, on Sept. 4th, 1780, conveying this information from Consul Logie, Tangier. (Col. Sec.'s Papers.)

[4] SAYER, *Hist. of Gibraltar*, pp. 340, 341; BROOKE, vol. i., p. 245.

consuls at Tangier were threatened with war if they sent help or provisions to Gibraltar,*[1] in consequence of which the English had to obtain supplies from O'ran and the Bey of Mascara.† The Governor of Gibraltar seized the
1793. presents sent by France to Morocco, forwarding them to the sultan as from himself, but Mulai Sulaïmán would not accept them till presented by the French consul
Nelson. in person.[2] More friendly relations having

He then made the offer to Spain, and obtained much better terms. "It was the policy of the Government at that day—1785—to dispense with African supplies, to the serious detriment of Tangier."[3] Sir Robert Curtis had in 1783 obtained the free purchase of provisions till March 28th, 1784, and from that time to pay reduced duty, except at Mogador, where this was to be the same as for other countries. The reduced rates were: Ox 4 "cobbs," sheep 7 okeas, twelve fowls 6 okeas. For other tariff see Art. 6 appended to treaty of 1760.

* Florida Blanca wrote: "The assistance afforded by the Moorish Prince would appear incredible had it not been seen. He opened his ports to the ships employed in the blockade of Gibraltar, permitted them to pursue and detain those of the enemy, facilitated the transport of provisions and assistance to our camp, and finally deposited in our power part of his treasure as a pledge of his sincerity." On December 27th, 1789, Consul Matra complains in a despatch to the Government that the Jews were "constantly scribbling to Europe," but congratulates himself that "mule and beef smuggling to Gibraltar" were "going on well."[4]

† A specimen of the attitude assumed at this time by Morocco towards the European Powers is afforded by a circular addressed by Mohammed XVII. to the consuls at Tangier:—

"In the Name of GOD!

"There is no force nor strength save in GOD!

"To all the consuls resident in Tangier; peace be to those who follow the right way.

"By these you are to know that we are in peace and friendship with all the Nazarene Powers until the month of May of the year 1203, answering to the year 1789; and such nations as are then desirous to continue in peace and friendship with us must, when the said month of May comes, write to us a letter to inform us that they are in peace and friendship with us, and then we shall do the same with them; and if any of the Nazarene nations desire to go to war with us, they shall let us know it by the above-mentioned month of May. And we trust that GOD will keep us in His protection against them. And thus I have said all I have to say.

"The 2nd of the month Shâbán, 1202, being 7th May, 1788."

1 THOMASSY, p. 309. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 345.
3 *Cf.* KEATINGE, vol. ii., p. 41; and GODARD, p. 560.
4 P. R. Office, F. O. Docs., Morocco, No. 17.

been established, Nelson, on his way to Egypt, halted
1801. for provisions at Tangier and Tetuan, but found them very dear, for a hundred-weight of powder was demanded as duty on every ox.* Tangier was blockaded
1828. and the British flag struck by Consul Douglas, who was detained on shore by the Moorish Government, in consequence of a misunderstanding between the consul and two British naval commanders then in the bay. The blockade was not raised for some months, when the consul complained of the little attention paid to his opinion, and eventually Commander Hope was censured.[1]

As the century advanced, especially in consequence of
1844, 1860. the wars with France and Spain, the influence
British Influence. of England in Morocco grew. The Moors appreciated her impartial advice, and particularly her action at the close of the latter, when, by raising a loan to meet part of the indemnity, she was successful in preventing the victors from retaining Tetuan.[2] This feeling has hardly yet died out, though recent British diplomacy in Morocco has not been exactly brilliant. Still, there is a feeling among the Moors, that even if ours is not altogether a disinterested friendship, at least they can rely on English advice as uninspired by hunger for their territory. In the instructions addressed by the Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Charles Euan-Smith, it was stated that "it has been the constant aim of Her Majesty's Government and of your predecessors at Tangier to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of Morocco, while neglecting no

* On another occasion the free provisions supplied at Tangier for British ships of war of sixty to seventy guns consisted of four bullocks, twelve sheep, eight dozen fowls, and vegetables *ad lib.*; for those of forty to fifty guns, two bullocks, six sheep, four dozen fowls, etc.; for those of thirty-six guns and under, one bullock, four sheep, two dozen fowls, etc.; but "no barley to be allowed, or any mention made of other articles."[3]

[1] F. O. Docs., vols. xxxvii.–xxxix. [2] HERTSLET'S *Collection*, vol. xi., pp. 425, 426.
[3] P. R. Office, F. O. Docs., vol. xiii.

Photograph by the Hon. D. Lawless

BRITISH EMBASSY EN ROUTE
(Sir John Drummond Hay, 1880)

favourable opportunity of impressing upon the Sultan and his Ministers the importance and advantage of improving the government and administration of the country. . . . It should be your constant endeavour to maintain a good understanding with the Sultan and his Ministers, and to act in cordial co-operation with your colleagues, the Representatives of other Powers, in promoting, as far as may be in your power, the good government and material development of the country."[1]

The Euan-Smith Mission.

Since Sir John Drummond Hay had concluded a series of treaties for England, no determined attempt* had been made to improve our position—or by our aid that of other "favoured nations"—till this mission of Sir C. B. Euan-Smith.† All the Powers who would benefit therefrom were notified of the convention which it was intended to submit, and were invited to support the envoy, who, fresh from the court of an eastern puppet-sultan, under-estimated the ability of independent Moorish statesmen—with the covert aid of rival European statesmen—to resist all such attempts to open up the Empire. Authorisation was therefore sought by Sir Charles—in case the sultan, "whether acting under evil counsels, or from ignorance or prejudice," might refuse to discuss or accept his proposals—to "hold language to His Majesty of a character more vigorous than that of mere remonstrance and disappointment,"[2] but in reply Lord Salisbury charged him to "abstain from anything in the nature of a menace, because, if resisted, it might bring about a serious crisis, and, if successful, would place Her Majesty's Government in the position of having undertaken the protection of Morocco."[3]

1856. 1892.

* That of 1886 ended in talk.

† For a full account of this mission see the official "Correspondence" presented to Parliament in August, 1892 ("Morocco, No. 1").

[1] Blue Book, Morocco No. 1, 1892, p. 1. [2] l.c., p. 5. [3] l.c., p. 13.

Cordially supported by Germany, Italy and Austria, and to some extent by Spain, but with the disguised hostility of France, amid a journalistic fanfare the embassy started for Fez. Arrived at the capital, four weeks were spent in negotiations, with the result that the sultan's commissioners accepted all the articles of the proposed treaty but the three important ones, which were to amend the customs tariff of 1856, to permit sea transport between Moorish ports without payment of duty, and to recognise the unrestricted right of foreigners to purchase land and other immovable property, and to build or rebuild thereon without hindrance.

Moorish Diplomacy.

£20,000 in gold were offered to the envoy by the sultan if he would withdraw these articles,* but this offer being refused, negotiations were broken off by the Moors, and semi-official attempts were made to rouse the populace against the foreigners, who were abused and threatened. On the envoy's demand of the sultan, $10,000 fine was paid to him by the governor;† the lieutenant-governor, who had led the mob, was sent to prison, and four of his police, who had been ring-leaders, were flogged. At length the sultan personally agreed to accept and sign the treaty as it stood, and gave instructions for clear copies to be made. But these proved unacceptable, for in the meanwhile busy agents had been at work advising resistance, forecasting a change of government in England, which would mean a change of policy, and urging that the envoy was exceeding his powers, and was not authorised to use threats, which would not be enforced. Instead of signing, therefore, a new expurgated draft was prepared by the Moors, and indirectly submitted through a member

* "On making this offer, His Majesty said that it was the custom for all foreign representatives, when they withdrew measures which he disliked, to accept presents of considerable value as a reward." (Sir E. Euan-Smith to the Marquis of Salisbury, July 2nd, 1892, Corresp. p. 41.)

† The money was dispensed in local charities, and an account submitted to the sultan.

of the mission; this was torn up on receipt, and returned to the minister as an irregular communication. Negotiations were again broken off, and after two weary months the embassy returned to camp, setting out for the coast. In camp a fresh attempt at compromise was made, but the commissioners pleading insufficient powers to sign, the farce was put an end to. Something had, nevertheless, been achieved, for the French, who followed, were enabled
1892. to obtain a treaty embodying all the commercial reforms arranged by Sir Charles Euan-Smith, with the exception of the three provisions to which such objection was raised. The only harm arising out of Sir Charles' refusal to accept these half measures was an apparent rebuff to England, and the postponement of all minor pending questions, the discussion of which had been set aside for that of the treaty.

Relations with France.

France has occupied a very different position since she has become so near a neighbour. Her dealings with Morocco were established just before the days
1555. of "good Queen Bess," when direct negotiations commenced. France was the first to appoint a consul to this country, a step which was taken by
1577. Henri III., "on the petition and request which has been made to us by the king of the said kingdoms of Morocco and Fez, our good and true friend." There were then already several French settlers in the country,[1] although they were "known only for their bad faith and untrustworthiness," many being merely runaways.[2] This Salli consulate was abandoned for nearly fifty years
1718–1767. in the eighteenth century.

When the tricolour was adopted a model was sent to Mulai El Yazeed, who caused it to be saluted when hoisted
1791. at Salli, for he had a grateful memory of his transportation in a French vessel from Tunis to Jedda.[3]

[1] THOMASSY, pp. 115-18. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 222. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 341.

Diplomatic Amenities.

On the accession of Mulai Sulaïmán, when
1795. the French consulate was removed from Salli to Tangier, the envoy's letters of credence were signed with a space left for the sultan's name, where that of the victorious claimant might be filled in. Buonaparte displayed his ingenious tactics in distributing in Morocco Arabic and Berber bulletins descriptive of his victories.[1] After Salli had been bombarded to obtain
1851. the settlement of certain French claims, the sultan refused to re-open communication by the usual diplomatic channel, and addressed himself direct to the French President at Paris.[2] This example was
1889. followed when the writer was requested by the Moorish Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Tangier to indite a telegram to President Harrison himself, requesting the recall of an objectionable consul.[3]

French Treaties.

Although as early as the thirteenth century, Yâḳûb II.,
1282. who was at war with Alfonso X. of Castille, had proposed an alliance with Philippe III. of France,[4] the earliest regular treaties with that country[5] are the series entered into by Louis XIII. under the energetic guidance of Cardinal Richelieu. These were
1630. severally signed, one in Salli Roads, two at
1631. Marrákesh and Salli, all by Razelli; one at
1635. Salli by the Admiral du Chalard, co-signatory
1669. of the last two, and one later.[6] The next, between Louis XIV. and Mulai Ismâïl (both described therein as "très-haut, très-puissant, très-excellent et très-
1682. invincible"), "done at Saint Germain-en-Laye," was disavowed by the sultan when presented for his approbation by Saint Amant.[7] St. Olon, who followed on

1 THOMASSY, p. 383. 2 GODARD, p. 622. 3 See p. 364. 4 MAS LATRIE, *Relations*, p. 256.
5 See *Tableau de la Situation des Etablissements français en Algérie*, 1841, p. 418, etc.; and MAS LATRIE, *Principaux Traités de Paix, etc.*
6 *Inventaire sommaire des Arch. du Dép. des Aff. étrang.*, vol. ii., 1892, Maroc, 2.
7 See SAINT AMANT and PÉTIS DE LA CROIX for their accounts; and the *Catalogue du Bibliothèque de M. Langlès*, p. 431, for the MSS. negotiations.

1693. a similar errand, fared no better.*[1] The Comte
1767. de Breugnon met with greater success a century later, though humiliated by the conditions of the release
1824. of the slaves of his nation.[2] His treaty, renewed
1844. with additional articles,[3] had to suffice till the
1845. war with France demanded fresh conventions. A series of important regulations of the system for foreign protection of Moorish subjects were drawn up,
Foreign Protection.
1863. and these formed the basis of the Madrid
1881. Convention, the agreement still in force. The
1892. most recent treaty with France is commercial, chiefly affecting the customs tariff.

Setting aside the numerous treaties, conventions, and alliances entered into between the Moors and Castille, Leon, Aragon,[4] and other Spanish kingdoms, the modern diplomatic engagements with the united Spanish monarchy date only from a treaty of the
Relations with Spain.
1767. eighteenth century, which the Moors attempted to repudiate, but which they eventually extended and
1780, 1799. confirmed at Aranjuez[5] and Mequinez.[6] At this time the "presents" received by the Moors as tribute from Spain in consideration of privileges granted were considerable, though no fixed sum was stipulated for as in other cases. Conventions as to the limits of Ceuta,
1844, 1845. fisheries, and other minor matters, followed, but
1861. nothing of importance till agreements and

* Documents in the French Foreign Office reveal the fact that an attempt to seize on Tangier, recently abandoned by the English, was contemplated by France in 1698, and that again in 1764 it was proposed that she should conquer Morocco.[7]

[1] See his own account.

[2] The Arabic text of this is given in SILVESTRE DE SACY'S *Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. iii.; see CHENIER'S account. For an account of this mission see ROCHON.

[3] DE CLERCQ'S *Recueil de Traités*, vol. iii., pp. 317, 379.

[4] See CAPMANY, *Memorias historicas sobre . . . Barcelona*, 1732; and MAS LATRIE'S *Traités*. [5] See CANTILLO'S Collection. [6] MARTENS' Collection, vol. ii., p. 175.

[7] *Archives, Maroc*, t. 3. See *Inventaire Sommaire*, 1892, t. 2, and *Rev. Africaine*, 1893, p. 251.

treaties were signed with respect to the Melilla frontier and the war between the contracting parties. The last date was that of the final peace, the conditions of which still remain in force. Portugal made a very similar series of treaties, here unworthy of separate notice.

With Denmark.

The Danes made an early attempt to arrange terms, but "owing to mismanagement, ignorance of the country, and above all to the misrepresentations of a Moorish Jew whom they trusted too implicitly," the embassy failed.[1] A treaty was, however, concluded later, the main provisions of which were commercial. It secured for a Danish company the monopoly of the trade of the coast from Salli to Saffi for fifty thousand dollars a year,[2] with half as much again as tribute. But in a few years, notwithstanding a promising start, the company consumed its capital and failed.

1751.

1753.

With Hanseatic Ports and Sweden.

Hamburg paid tribute about the same time, and later secured a treaty, though without having direct representation, and eventually Mr. Hay was authorised to treat on behalf of the Hanseatic towns in general. Sweden was one of the last to make terms with Morocco.

1750.

1830.

1763.

With Austria and Germany.

One of the curious episodes in Moorish history is the accrediting of Sir Anthony Sherley to 'Abd el 'Azîz III. (Abu Fáris), by Rudolf II. of Germany,[3] when a treaty was secured. This does not however appear to have been followed up, and it was not till the present century that Prussia, and ultimately the new German Empire, entered the lists. Austria, nevertheless, maintained its relations, and received an embassy. Treaties were also drawn up in 1799, 1805, and 1830, though Vienna was unrepresented at the Moorish Court except through the officials of friendly

1604.

1784.

[1] Described in quaint Dutch doggerel by RAVN, its treasurer; see *Bibl. Art.*, p. 384.
[2] HÖST, p. 284. [3] RO. C., chap. x.

1886. nations till a few years ago. Germany recently
1890. obtained a treaty which was only a slight improvement on those of the other nations.

A Jewish envoy was first sent to Holland to conclude
1604. a peace with the Dutch, who subsequently
1610, 1651. ratified treaties[1] with the Fîláli shareefs. These
With Holland. received confirmation in 1657, 1658, 1659, 1684 (when privileges hitherto restricted to Salli were extended to all Morocco), and in 1692, when complete security was guaranteed to all Dutch subjects. The important nature of the interests of the States General in Morocco at that time may be inferred from this series of dates. In the following century their treaties were ratified and extended in 1752, 1755, 1778, 1786, etc., the last of these securing to them the monopoly of trade with Laraiche.

Diplomatic relations with Morocco were for a long time carried on by the component states and republics of Italy,
With Italy. in addition to the early treaties with Pisa and
1765. Genoa. Thus Venice made a treaty[2] which
1806. lasted till its consulate was abandoned, and Tuscany also obtained an agreement confirming anterior treaties. Peace with the two Sicilies dated from the
1727. year of Mulai Ismâïl's death, when a treaty was arranged through the British consul. It was a Swedish consul-general (Gråberg di Hemsö) who made peace on
1820. behalf of Sardinia, which he represented till
1825. an independent consul came. Ultimately its
1859. representation was merged in that of re-united Italy.

On the advice of Spain, and in a Spanish man-of-war, Mulai el Ḥasan was induced to make the strange innova-

[1] Du Mont's Collection, vols. vi.–viii.; Aitzema's, vols. vii., viii.; Groot Placetboek, and Pétis de la Croix, vol. i., p. 470. A good account of Dutch relations with Morocco is given in chap. vi., pp 213–319, of the *Hedendaagsche Historie of Tegenwoordige Staat van Afrika.* (Bibl. 397.)

[2] See Carlo Antonio Martin, *Storia Civile e Politica del Commercio de' Veneziani*, 1788.

The Pope Approached.

tion of sending an embassy to the pope of Rome![1] The idea impressed upon His Shareefian
1888. Majesty appears to have been that the papal see still held sway over the destinies of Christendom, and that the various nations desirous of appropriating Morocco might be thereby induced to relinquish their aims. Vain hope!

At last there appear on the scene the United States of
1787. North America, a treaty with them being con-
1836. cluded by Barclay,[2] and renewed at Mequinez
Relations with the U.S. of N. America. after fifty years by Leir.[3] Peace had nearly
1802. been broken when the Americans bombarded Tripoli; the Moors declared war, but finding no one at hand to fight, after some correspondence friendly relations were resumed in the following year. The United
1836. States Government conceived the idea, since adopted by Spain and Germany, of obtaining the concession of the little island of Perejil (*i.e.*, parsley, pron. perekhil) on the Straits of Gibraltar, as a strategic position,[4] in modern parlance a "coaling station." Then
1887. the Spaniards vainly attempted to steal a march by quietly taking possession. During the civil war the Moors, to oblige the United States consul, arrested two emissaries of the Southern frigate *Sumter*, on their
1862. way to Cadiz for coal, and after a brief incarceration in the Tangier consulate, they were promptly shipped off to the States.*

Belgium, which had already been represented "near" the Moorish Court for three or four years, next
1862. secured a treaty of commerce and naviga-

* Of this incident I published a complete account from the official correspondence in the *Times of Morocco*, January 13th, 1888.

1 See *Times of Morocco*, Nos. 119 and 123, February 18 and March 17, 1888.
2 MARTENS, vol. i., p. 380.
3 *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 443; and *Nouvelle Recueil Génerale*, vol. xiii., p. 685.
4 P.R.O., F.O. Docs., vol. i., 1836.

With Belgium and Russia.

tion, and has subsequently been a party to the Madrid and Spartel Conventions. She has sent a succession of energetic ministers to represent her in Tangier, and has been second to none in her endeavours to develop trade in these parts, deservedly meeting with much success. Her position outside the jealous circle of Powers greedy for Morocco itself led to hopes that she might secure important railway and mining concessions, but so far her hopes have not been realised. With Russia, the last to enter the lists, it has been otherwise, for with no trade to foster, and no direct political interests, not even resident subjects to be protected, other

1898. reasons for her action must be sought. Last year the Tsar appointed an ambassador who has recently presented his credentials in Marrákesh.* Within the past few years Brazil has appointed its own representative, and Denmark, which continues without a legation in Tangier, is nevertheless represented in the consular body.

Attempts at diplomatic relations between Morocco and Turkey have never been very successful, chiefly on account

* One of the amusing episodes of Moorish foreign politics was the arrival at Mogador some years ago of a soi-disant "Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary" to the Moorish Court from "His Majesty Achilles II. of Patagonia," himself a French adventurer, but still unworthily represented by the Austrian Geyling, who hoisted the unknown flag, and had to haul it down on the united protest of the legitimate consular body. The discomfited "envoy" had previously been known in Morocco as the secretary of a French pretender to the Moorish umbrella, one Joly, who declared himself a Moorish prince captured at the battle of Isly and educated in France, but who was arrested in Tangier and punished in France as a deserter. Later Geyling passed as "Abd el Krim Bey," and meeting the writer in Paris, posed as the physician of Mulai el Ḥasan on a special mission to Europe. Having failed to induce the French Government to receive him as an emissary from the semi-independent chiefs of Sûs, he tried in vain to form a company in Paris to exploit that province. More successful in London, on his representations the *Tourmaline* speculation was entered into, and an attempt was made to open up a trade in defiance of the Moorish and British Governments—ignoring customs regulations—with the disastrous results still fresh in the public mind.

Photograph by H. E. the Baron Whettnall

BELGIAN EMBASSY IN CAMP
(Baron Whettnall in 1887)

Morocco and Turkey.

of the unwarranted assumption by the rulers of Constantinople of the title of khalîfas of Islám, and the consequent pretension to a sort of suzerainty of the Mohammedan world. This, however, they have never succeeded in establishing beyond the reach of their arms, unless for the moment acknowledged by some applicant for their assistance. As they are not shareefs (*i.e.*, of the family of Mohammed), and the Moorish dynasties have been so for four hundred years, they have even been refused by the Moors the title of sultan or emperor, and this has always obstructed negotiations. The same thing occurred when "Saladin" refused the title of Ameer el Mû'minîn to the Muwáḥḥadi Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, who on that account refused the assistance sought against the Crusaders.* The appearance of the Turkish forces in Algeria early in the sixteenth century, and their conquest of that country, brought them into closer relations with Morocco, which they several times invaded with varying fortune, usually in support of some claimant for the throne. An Algerian envoy was therefore despatched by Sulaïmán the Magnificent—called by Moorish writers "the Shah"—to define the limits of their jurisdiction, which may be said to have been the opening move of modern diplomatic relations between the two nations.

1552.

When the Sultan of Morocco had imprisoned all the French merchants in his dominions, and despoiled some of their goods, because their consul, Castellane, had made off with the volumes entrusted to him by his son,† Zîdán, to be rebound—though the books had been captured by the Spaniards on their way to France—an appeal for the use of

Turkish Arrogance. 1617.

* The light in which the Turk is regarded by the Moor is sufficiently shown by a quotation of El 'Ufráni (p. 80, or of the Arabic, p. 43).

† See pp. 130 and 362.

their good offices was made to the Turks by the French ambassador at Constantinople.[1] But instead of using persuasion, the Turks sent peremptory orders to Morocco for the release of the French—orders which the Moors of course refused to obey—so the French bombarded
1624, 1629. Salli. They only secured reparation, and in
1630. vain endeavoured to obtain some recognition of the claims of the Turks, who were never able to extend their power beyond Algiers. Mulai Zîdán, nevertheless, in his struggle for the throne, despatched "ten quintals of gold" to Constantinople to procure assistance, which was granted, though all but one of the vessels bearing the troops that were sent were wrecked on the way. A century later saw the tables reversed, for Mulai Ismâïl,
1709. who, nevertheless, appeared to imitate his rival in many respects, offered to assist Louis XIV. to fight the Turks.[2] Better relations were inaugurated
1767-8. by the despatch of a ship-load of cannon, mortars, bombs and shot by Muṣṭafà III. to Mohammed XVII., whose daughter was sent to Mekka to marry the local shareef, styled by Ez-Zaïáni the "sultan."[3]

Then—after Ez-Zaïáni had been sent to them as envoy,
1787. and had become such a *persona grata* that the Ottoman sultan had asked his brother of Morocco to send him only as long as he lived—the Turks called on the Moors as fellow Muslimîn to join in a holy war against Russia. At the same time they requested a loan of twenty million piastres, which Sidi Mohammed did his best to find.[4] He first desired to send two, then four frigates to the assistance of the Turks, and collected sixty thousand men under arms at Salli, promising to send with them three hundred thousand piastres. But transport difficulties blocked the way, for his piratical sailors did not know how to get to Constantinople, and he

1 THOMASSY, pp. 117 and 121. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 197. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 1434. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 309.

Assistance to Turkey.

was obliged to ask the English at Gibraltar for crews. This request being refused, he threatened war against England, and refused the supplies to her garrison promised by treaty. Eventually all that he remitted to Turkey was fifty thousand piastres through the French consul at Salli; and, though he stated that this was sent in consideration of the good treatment of the Moorish pilgrims to Mekka, and to pay six fokîhs at Alexandria and Cairo to read the book of prayers which he had written and sent to them, all the return he received was the chagrin of hearing that the Turkish sultan had accepted it as tribute. War nearly broke

1805. out between the two nations over the treatment of the members of the Darḳáwi brotherhood, some of whom the Dey of Algiers had put to death, in consequence of which the people of Tlemçen fled to Morocco, declaring that they "could not stand hunger and Turks at once."[1]

Of late years Turkish interests in the Maghrib have been entrusted to the British representatives, but as no Turks reside in Morocco, and few ever come here, there has not been much for them to do. On the other hand the number and importance of the Moorish pilgrims to Mekka has increased with improving means of communication, but it is to the interest of the Turks themselves to see that from whatever country the pilgrims come they are fairly well treated.

Present Turkish Interests.

Tripoli appears, on one occasion at least, to have entered into direct relations with Morocco, for the dey sent a

1812. beautiful virgin to the sultan, and in return received a 32-gun frigate from Laraiche.[2] With the other nations of the East it may be said that Morocco has never entered into diplomatic

Relations with Tripoli, Armenia, and Tartary.

[1] Ez-Zaïáni. [2] Rilev, p. 577.

relations, though there exists a letter from Mulai Ismâïl to Queen Anne concerning the imprisonment of an Armenian envoy, Dr. Bentura, who is more likely to have been an adventurer than a duly accredited representative.[1] Marlowe, in his *Tamburlaine the Great*, represents the kings of "Moroccus and Fez" as throwing down their crowns before the great Tátar, although it was the king of Fez who in a previous act had asked disdainfully, "What means the haughty Turkish emperor, to talk with one so base as Tamburlaine?" He was willing now to exclaim—with that inaccuracy of description which makes so many novelists and playwrights paint the Moors as negroes:—

> "I here present thee with the crown of Fez,
> And with an host of Moors trained to the war,
> Whose coal-black faces make their foes retire,
> And quake for fear."[2]

[1] Public Record Office, "Modern Royal Letters," 2nd Series, No. 111.
[2] Part ii., Act 1, Scene iii., l. 128; *cf.* PEELE'S *Battle of Alcazar*, i., 2.

PRIVATE AUDIENCE OF AN ENVOY TO MOROCCO
(From Höst)

CHAPTER THE SEVENTEENTH

MOORISH DIPLOMATIC USAGES

Original Custom.

IF not, perhaps, unique among eastern lands in its treatment of the representatives accredited to it from abroad, Morocco has at least an interesting record. In the early days of diplomatic intercourse, the custom prevailed of sending a consul as a sort of supercargo with each little trading fleet[1]—for vessels then seldom ventured singly—and undertakings of this sort were far from frequent, while a life among a people so inhospitable offered few attractions. Even when the settlement of merchants on the Barbary coast was followed by the appointment of resident consuls, their offices were sometimes of a very informal character; thus as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century we find the Frenchmen settled in Tetuan nominating one of their number to act as consul,[2] an arrangement which, having satisfied the Moors, appears to have satisfied Paris as well.* Queen Elizabeth's envoys were "sworne Esquires of her Majestie's person," the second of whom "remained there as Liger for the space of 3 yeeres."[3]

The receptions of these officials by the Moorish ameers

* Marseilles had centuries before by a wise regulation authorised any ten of her merchants residing in Syria or Barbary to select one of their number to act as consul till a regular official was appointed.[4]

1 GODARD, p. 355. 2 DE LA FAYE.
3 HAKLUYT, vol. ii., pt. ii., pp. 64–67, and 117; also KERR's *Voyages*, vol. vii.
4 MAS LATRIE, *Relations*, p. 165.

or sultans used to vary in proportion to the fear in which their countries were held at the time, and were in consequence far from uniform in cordiality. That bold adventurer, Sir Anthony Sherley, who had secured the confidence of the great Persian shah, 'Abbás, having been entrusted by him with commissions to the potentates of Europe—by one of whom he was in turn accredited to the ameer 'Abd el 'Azîz III. of Morocco—

Sherley's Independence.

1604. "astonished the natives" by coolly *riding* into the court of audience, a privilege accorded to the sovereign alone. The ameer was, however, too politic or too polite to raise the question, but took care that on the next occasion the "dog of a Christian" should find a chain across the gateway.[1] This Sir Anthony could not brook, so rode back threatening to break off negotiations, and it affords a striking lesson as to the right way of dealing with Orientals, that even in those days the Moors should have had to give way and imprison the porter, permitting the admission of Sir Anthony on horse-back thereafter. To the present time ambassadors from Europe are received uncovered and on foot by the mounted sultan, shaded by the royal parasol.* Perhaps it was with this humiliation in their minds that the Moors

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY

* "The exact form and method that all ministers have ever gone on an embassy to the Emperor of Morocco, from George Delaval in 1707, to Charles Stewart in 1722," is to be found at page 76 of the 1720–28 volume of Treasury Papers at the Public Record Office, and affords some curious reading.

1 See account by Ro. C., and also *The Three Brothers*, whence the accompanying portrait, "from a scarce print," has been obtained.

subsequently permitted only one horse to the consuls-general, and forbade anyone else to mount them, a restriction which remained in force at least as late as 1836.[1]

Indignities. 1682.

The brutal Mulai Ismâïl in the following century made one English ambassador take off his boots when presented,* in return for which the king of England made the Moorish ambassador take off both turban and shoes.[2] St. Olon, who was accredited to the same monarch from Louis XIV.—for whom the tyrant had a great respect—retained his head-gear during the audience,[3] though the custom was afterwards dropped.† Of late years some ambassadors have remained covered part of the time, and by degrees more reasonable forms are being introduced. It was only in 1845 that Sir John Drummond Hay broke through the custom of presenting credentials kneeling, and it was M. Ordèga who first remained covered.‡[4] 1831.

Razelli's Adventures.

It seems to have been considered quite the correct thing in the early days to arrest, if not to ill-treat, obstreperous ambassadors,§ no theory with regard to the inviolability of their persons or their domiciles having as yet obtained acceptance in Morocco.‖

* In 1771, when the royal attendants wished Jardine to remove his shoes before an audience, the sultan called out, "Let him alone; these Christians are subject to catch cold without shoes."[5]

† Although Mulai Ismâïl received St. Olon with his clothes still stained by the blood of the men he had just killed with his lance,[6] yet he refused to receive a merchant accredited to him as ambassador.[7]

‡ M. Ordèga notified the sultan in advance that he would keep his hat on, "as he had more ideas inside his head than hairs outside of it, on which account he feared the cold."[8]

§ As late as 1833 a U.S. consul was imprisoned.[9]

‖ Yet they soon learned what it meant in Europe, for the "Annual Register" of 1764 (p. 74) records the trial of "four chairmen, for forcibly breaking into the Morocco ambassador's house [in London], with a large mob at their heels,

1 P.R.O., F.O. Docs., vol. iv.; reports of Mr. Drummond Hay for 1837, 1st quarter.
2 St. Olon, p. 124; Erckmann, p. 234. 3 See his own account.
4 Charmes, p. 573. 5 Jardine, p 36. 6 St. Olon, p. 179.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 191. 8 De Campou. 9 P.R.O., F.O. Docs., vol. xlv.

1617, 1619. Mulai Zîdán refused to receive two consuls sent
1622. by France, and cast a third into prison on account of the carrying off of his library by the Spaniards from Castellane, which he laid to the Frenchman's charge.[1] When Razelli arrived on his first mission
1624. with three vessels, he landed with nearly fifty men in place of the twenty-five for whom he had permission, so they were at once arrested, and only the ambassador and three monks set free.[2] Even they were only permitted to return to France on providing bail among the French merchants, and as they never surrendered themselves, the money was refunded by the Convent of St. Honoré in Paris. The others lay in Moorish dungeons for several years, for it was long before Razelli
1629. returned with a force sufficient to deliver six French vessels en route, to bombard Salli, and to capture several pirates, after which the prisoners were released and a consul accepted under a new treaty.*

Envoys Arrested.

In the following century an envoy sent by Queen Anne to Barcelona was detained on his way in Tetuan, as
1712. hostage for the Moorish envoy to England, and the Moor was accordingly arrested at Gibraltar till an exchange was effected.[3] In a similar way
1725. the English consul at Tetuan was imprisoned because a Moorish vessel sent for repairs to Gibraltar had been detained there.[4] Latton, an ambassador
1750. from England, was confined to his house for about a year, and Sturge, his secretary, thrust into a

and their violently attacking the ambassador himself, in pretence that he kept one of their wives from her husband. But through the great lenity, it is imagined, of His Excellency, they had all the good fortune to be acquitted."

* Razelli's own mémoire to Cardinal Richelieu, dated 1626, asking for a fleet to chastise the Moors, is among the MSS. of the Bib. Saint Geneviève (L. f. 36), and has been published in the *Rev. de Géog.*, vol. xix., p. 374.

[1] See p. 130. [2] D'Angers, p. 18; Charrant, p. 141; Godard, p. 481.
[3] Busnot. [4] De la Faye.

maṭmôrah,* because they would not pay a second time
1734. the ransoms paid by Sollicoffre to the báshá Ḥamed, who had rebelled and kept the money.[1] On the same account the crew of the British vessel *Inspector*, eighty in number, were enslaved for five years.

A remarkable series of catastrophes overcame our consuls in Morocco during the last century. Sollicoffre
1735. died at Tetuan, and his successor, Latton, was
1750. imprisoned, as has been narrated. Petticrew,
British Consular Record. who followed, died a natural death, but Read
1758. committed suicide in Fez. His successor,
1770. Popham, was incapable, and was removed on account of the sultan's "declared aversion" to him, but was consoled by a pension of £200 a year, he being then at the age of sixty. The next man, Sampson, after two years, fled before the intrigues of the Moorish Court, and was recalled. Then came Logie, who was banished from
1781. Morocco with all other British subjects. Sir
1785. Roger Curtis was more successful, but gave place to Payne, who was in a few months recalled for neglect. After him the credit of the service is revived by Matra, whose clearly written despatches fill many volumes at the Record Office.†

Formerly the consuls did not dare to leave the country without having an audience of the sultan, a formality which often took from three to six weeks, even if performed by proxy, and involved some $500 or $600 in presents. In those days envoys used to purchase the assistance of the

* Underground granary.

† The secret code employed by Matra for important communications consisted in the number of page, line and order of each word as it stood in Johnson's *Dictionary*, with any letter between each group of figures, repetition being avoided.[2]

1 HOUGHTON; also Public Record Office, F.O. Docs., vol. vii. See p. 340.

2 F.O. Docs., vol. xvii., May 4 and 24, 1790.

favourite wives of the sultans,[1] and had recourse to many forms of intrigue to achieve their ends. The Jews whom they employed as interpreters were sometimes cruelly illtreated, and there is no lack of excuse for the still existing right of protecting all official employés. A Jewish merchant of Salli who was sent to the Court with a message from the British consul, was actually burned alive[2] when the sultan discovered that it was a Jew with whom he had been talking,* and a rupture of diplomatic relations naturally ensued. Consul Sampson had to flee to Gibraltar "without having brought any other than some old clothes on my back," as the sultan had attempted to starve him. Notwithstanding Consul Popham's recall "at the sultan's request," as years passed by, and the foreign officials assumed the high hand, it was supposed that the demand for the recall of U.S. Consul Lewis for alleged malpractices was unprecedented. On the advice of the writer's father the demand was made by Sid Ḥáj Mohammed Torres, then Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, who made official use of the telegraph cable for the first time on this occasion. President Harrison at once acceded to the wish expressed, and Lewis was dismissed.[3]

Interpreters Illtreated.

1732.

1772.

1889.

One morning the British consul at Tangier, then the highest British functionary in the country, received a visit from some seventy of the black troops quartered near, who, he says, declared "they came there by order of the emperor to abuse, spit in my face, collar and threaten to stab me with

British Subjects Expelled.

1780.

* Yet in 1768 a Jew, Benider, was appointed British vice-consul at Salli on £100 a year, and such posts have since frequently fallen to his co-religionists. In 1772 he was sent to London with letters from the sultan announcing the expulsion of the Europeans from Tetuan.[4]

[1] Pères de la Mercy, p. 224. [2] Mairault, p. 210; Pellow (Brown's), p. 216.
[3] See *Times of Morocco*, December 21, 1889. [4] *Annual Register*, vol. xv., p. 122.

Drawn by R. Caton Woodville

ENTRY OF AN ENGLISH EMBASSY INTO MARRÁKESH
(Sir W. Kirby Green in 1887)

their daggars (*sic*)," to disprove their alleged attachment to the English, a command which they proceeded at once to execute "in the most rigorous and offensive manner they were masters of." He was subsequently carried to the sultan at Salli, and soon after his return was notified, in common with his fellow consuls, that from 1781. January 1st Tangier was sold to Spain for $100,000 and a hundred Moorish slaves a year, so that all other nationalities must immediately remove to Tetuan, though at the time no Europeans were allowed to enter 1772. that town, from which they had been expelled within a decade. At a few hours' notice seven hundred and nine British subjects were banished to Marteel, vessels and property of all sorts being abandoned. The consul burned the archives, as the Spanish commander claimed the British subjects as prisoners of war, as which they were taken to Ceuta, but eventually delivered in Gibraltar under a flag of truce on January 10th. The consul's estimate of his property per force abandoned—including his "large and valuable library of books, upwards of two hundred volumes," reckoned at £75—amounted to nearly £3000.[1] *

On the other hand some of the envoys have rendered themselves popular with the Moors, and apparently Sherley was among this number.† On arriving at Saffi with thirteen companions—of different nationalities for the sake of their tongues—he maintained open house with extraordinary liberality, and by way of producing effect, presented each of the five hundred men sent down to form his escort with a special turban as

Sherley's Methods.

* The fare for two from Gibraltar to London was then £42, and the hire of post-chaise with four horses (trumpeter and post-boys included) from Falmouth to London was £35.

† See correspondence with him in Public Record Office.

[1] Foreign Office Docs., vols. xi., xiii.

a livery, although to meet his expenses he had to borrow largely from the local Jews.[1] But Morocco did not prove sufficiently attractive, and he willingly returned to organise the Persian army, into which he introduced the use of firearms.* The Colaço family, which so long retained the representation of Portugal in Morocco,† is descended from a Portuguese slave employed by Mohammed XVII. as ambassador to Lisbon, but there refused as such, yet who was sent back to Morocco as the representative of Portugal.[2] When, during the war of the succession, the Colaço then in office received no pay and got into debt, the sultan found him money as a family friend, and when the Portuguese government wished to remove him, the Moors declared that if this were done they would never receive another, so he was allowed to remain.[3]

The Colaço Family.

Among the interesting men who have visited Morocco in the company of foreign envoys, may be mentioned Golius,‡ the Dutch professor, who presented the ameer with an Arabic New Testament and atlas, and an Arabic address of his own composition, though in speaking he could not make himself understood by the Moors, and had to use Spanish.[4] Most of the early official correspondence with Europe appears to have been in this language, and numerous letters in

Golius. 1622.

* "The Mighty Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherley fever, and gives hopes of approaching fates; the prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war . . . so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turks, now also in remoter blowes and sulfurian arts are growne terrible."[5]

† Four generations. Dom José Colaço, for many years doyen of the Corps Diplomatique in Tangier, still lives in retirement at his country seat here.

‡ Otherwise Jakob van Gool.

1 Ro. C., chap. xi. 2 GRÅBERG. 3 RICHARDSON, p. 43.
4 CHARANT, pp. 166 and 175; HÖST, p. 34.
5 PURCHAS' *Pilgrims*, vol. ii., p. 1806. See also PIETRO DELLA VALLE, and CURZON'S *Persia*, vol. i., p. 573, and ii., pp. 35, 537.

Spanish received from Moorish sovereigns are preserved in our Record Office. Although the treaties were as a rule drawn up in Arabic, discrepancies often found their way into the translations used by the foreigners, which frequently represented the general sense rather than the exact wording of the original. This has been a fruitful source of misunderstanding, as will be readily understood. One Moorish envoy to France refused to accept the 1777. Arabic translation accompanying a letter from Louis XVI. unless signed by the Minister of Marine, as the French original was, so they made the translator certify it, and the minister witnessed his signature.[1] Originally both consuls and envoys communicated direct with the sultans, but the báshá of Tangier was appointed 1842. Commissioner for Foreign Affairs,[2] an arrangement which has since been modified by the appointment of a special official as such.

Nature of Presents.

An enumeration of the presents brought by foreign envoys to Morocco, in addition to the sum of money paid under that head, though really tribute, would provide some interesting items.* At

* Among other presents, Captain Paddon took to Mulai Ismâïl from George I. "a rich crimson velvet sedan or chair for the darling sultaness, a native of England; £50, and ten pounds of the finest tea, at 30*s.* per pound."[3] Russel took to his successor in 1728: a big twelve-branch candlestick, eleven bales containing three pieces of cloth each, fifteen pieces fine cloth, a case of French (Brittany) cloth, twenty-eight loaves of "sugar royal," a case of porcelain china, eighteen pounds of tea, a case of sweets, a box of ornaments and curiosities, a case of brocaded stuffs, a silver carpet, satin and gold lace, a gun and a pair of pistols, four boxes of Florence cloths, and a case of holland and cambric.[4] A specimen of Moorish tastes is afforded by the commission from "ladies of the hareem" to Dr. Lemprière,[5] which includes tea-cups and saucers, mahogany trays, damasks, satins, beads, tea, sugar, coffee, nutmegs, silks, pearls, mahogany clothes-boxes, scents, a mahogany fourpost bed, "a green Dutch box," a chest of drawers, watches, etc. All of these would be as heartily appreciated at the present time.

[1] THOMASSY, 292. [2] GODARD, p. 622. [3] P.R.O. State Papers, vol. 1714–17, 19, p. 412.
[4] BRAITHWAITE, p. 110. [5] p. 408.

one time value, at another rarity, appears to have commended certain articles, and of recent years an effort has been made to mark the progress of the outside world by sending specimens of modern mechanism—even a small railway train for instance*—or mechanical toys, pianos, musical boxes, scientific instruments, and ornamental objects of all sorts. Curious animals, too, have always been favourite gifts on both sides, and among the English presents have been found the smallest horses bred, and an elephant.

Moorish Fancy. 1580.

The staple Moorish offering has long been horses, together with richly embroidered saddlery, etc., though in days past they have sent ostriches, lions, giraffes, and other rare species. Since carriages first reached Morocco from Portugal,[1] they have always been favourite gifts, and have of late included wonderful contrivances for pedalling, as well as bicycles and tricycles. Moorish sultans have not seldom been exacting in this matter, indicating plainly their desires and criticisms. Thus Mulai Ismâïl wrote to the equally infamous Kirke, "Know that there came from thy master [Charles II.] three coach horses. Now a coach needs four horses to draw it, wherefore thou must send another of the same likeness, sort, and size; oblige us in this by all means."†[2] The same monarch asked the envoy of Louis XIV. for "some cuirasses, a rich and rare sword, a few precious jewels from your emperor's treasure, and other magnificent curiosities which may be to our taste.‡[3] But

* Presented by Baron Whettnall on behalf of the King of the Belgians in 1887.

† Kirke had a hundred carts sent from Mequinez to Tangier to bring up presents from the King of England in 1681.[4]

‡ St. Amand had already brought from Louis XIV. in 1682 two worked guns, two large clocks, two dozen watches, twelve pieces gold brocade, and twelve of English cloth.[5]

1 El Ufráni, p. 145. 2 Ockley, p. 139. 3 St. Olon, 197.
4 Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 322. 5 St. Amand, p. 520.

the presents most appreciated by the Moors have always consisted of cannon and ammunition, especially mountain and quick-firing guns.

As specimens of what used to be sent, may be mentioned an offering from the Fathers of Mercy: three fine pearl collars, valued at 2450, 1400, and 1050 livres (francs) respectively; a diamond in a gold ring, l. 2100; an emerald, l. 525; a topaz, l. 210; a clock, l. 300; with valuable cambray and scarlet cloths, silk handkerchiefs, etc. A few years later the same Order presented £1000 worth of gifts, which included tea[1]—a beverage probably thus introduced, and of which the English subsequently gave a quantity—which has since become the national drink. Another set of presents included two great mirrors, silver-mounted fowling pieces, gold brocade, Gobelin tapestry, coloured cloths, great China vases, chests of tea, sweets, etc., and three big dogs.[2] Even the governor of Tangier used to come in for presentations each time a consul was changed,* a custom discontinued by Great Britain in 1837, the Foreign Office having the previous year taken over from the Colonial Office the control of our officials in Morocco.†

Specimen List. 1708.

Tea. 1723.

When foreign envoys visit Morocco, it is the custom to send down an escort to the coast with every requisite for

* Among the officials who claimed "presents" from a private traveller to whom an audience was granted were the master of ceremonies, his attendant, the royal musket-cleaner, the lance-cleaner, the groom, the tea-maker, the umbrella-holder, the saddle-cleaner, the coachman, the spur-man, the tent-man, the slipper-man, the water-bearer, the chair-man, the fly-flapper, the sword-carrier, the watch-keeper, and numerous porters, guards, messengers, etc.

† Some interesting particulars as to the cost of French embassies to Morocco in 1680 and 1689, with notes of presents and tribute, are to be found in the *Archives du Département des Aff. étrang.*, at Paris. See *Inventaire Sommaire*, vol. ii., 1892, Maroc 2 and 3.

[1] Mairault, p. 91. [2] De la Faye, p. 147.

Provision for Embassies.

transport to the capital at which the Court is to be found, and the people along the route are requisitioned for the support of the whole retinue, under the name of mônah or provision. The nightly supply, always far in excess of the demand—which leaves room for much misappropriation and swindling unless watched unusually well — includes packets of tea, loaves of sugar, candles, fresh herbs, eggs, milk, butter, chicken, live sheep, roast sheep, stews, keskasoo, bread, and barley for the animals, all of which are wrung from an exhausted populace.

The functions which in these days attend the receptions of ambassadors cannot here claim space for a full description, but as almost every embassy has its chronicler, and all receptions are very much alike, there is no lack of literature upon the subject. Each successive ambassador has it impressed upon him that the attentions he has received have never before been equalled; that particular honour has thus been shown to this particularly welcome representative of a particularly cherished ally. As the capital is neared a halt is called to make arrangements for the entry, which generally takes place in the morning. Half the town turns out to see the sight—on account, of course, of the particular honour in which that particular nation is held—and arrayed in their finest, the visitors ride in between two lines of soldiers, amid piercing ululations from the throats of women crowded on the house-tops reserved for their use.

Reception of Embassies.

Three days are allotted for repose and preparations in the house and grounds apportioned to the embassy, from which, as often as not, some unlucky citizen has been ejected for the occasion. Not till this delay has expired, affording time for many pourparlers, can admission be granted to "the august presence, the portal made lofty

by God, the prince of believers, the noble sultan exalted of God," the autocrat of the Maghrib. The public audience takes place in one of the vast courts of the palace, in which troops are drawn up, in the midst of whom the foreigners are humbly grouped on foot. Then, with a wild fanfare, the great gates open, and His Majesty emerges on horseback, preceded by one of the carriages he has received from abroad, and followed by grooms leading several beautiful horses. Approaching the central figures, who uncover their heads and bow, the principal usher—always chosen for his stentorian voice—introduces the envoy, who, being courteously welcomed in a condescending tone, presents his credentials in a silk handkerchief to a waiting official, and if he can, repeats a short set speech in Arabic, or does so by interpretation. Further assurances of a peculiar friendship for his nation, with a glance at the presents disposed around,* and the members of the ambassador's suite having been presented, the audience ends, always the most gracious one yet accorded.

The Public Reception.

Subsequently feasts are offered by the various ministers, and entertainments, such as hunting, provided for the visitors. Private interviews are granted for the transaction of business, the details of which have already been discussed with the ministers concerned, though the point is often missed by reason of loose or deceptive interpretation, not to speak of ignorance of native thought. Finally the sultan's presents are distributed, and as the party arrived, so it takes its departure.

Transaction of Business.

The foreign ministers all reside at Tangier, and as the

* A noteworthy innovation in this respect was made by Sir Charles Euan-Smith in refusing to offer presents till some satisfactory result had been achieved by his negotiations.[1]

[1] "Corresp.," p. 33.

Drawn by R. Caton Woodville

PUBLIC RECEPTION OF A FOREIGN ENVOY AT THE MOORISH COURT
(Mulai El-Ḥasan and Sir W. Kirby Green, 1887)

Court is constantly moving from place to place in the interior, facilities for the transaction of business are scant, and ample excuses are found for procrastination and prevarication. These are the two favourite tactics of the Moors, whose principle it is to promise everything—"if God will"—with a mental determination that God shall not will, unless altogether to their advantage, if they have their way. The day has passed when a Moorish sultan can be expected, like his ancestor Ismâïl, to prostrate himself on the ground to thank God for sending Christian envoys to bear witness to his greatness, the frequency and inconvenience of their visits having long ago rendered them the most unwelcome of guests.

Moorish Emissaries.

Very strange ideas seem to have prevailed among the Moors as to the class of men fitted to be their representatives in Europe, where they have maintained a resident consul only in Gibraltar. He is practically their sole permanent official abroad, as their only other "consuls" in Cairo and Mekka are not, strictly speaking, officials, being merely agents. It has been quite a common practice with them to employ foreigners as their envoys, as in the case already mentioned of the first Colaço, so employed by Mohammed XVII. Mulai Ismâïl sent a Spanish slave named Dias to negotiate a treaty for him with the Portuguese,[1] but the treaty was repudiated. Then he sent the same man with a present of lions and ostriches to England, and two hundred dollars to pay his expenses there.[2] On his return he was sent back to his task as a slave, and eventually had his throat cut. The Spaniards refused to receive a Genoese whom Mulai El Yazeed sent to them,[3] but questions of this sort appear to have been seldom raised in those days.

There came once to Paris one David Palache, a Moroccan

[1] De la Mercy, p. 188. [2] Busnot, p. 42. [3] Ségur.

Jew whose father was Moorish agent in the Netherlands, the bearer of a letter from the sultan of Morocco, and pretending to be an ambassador. He was received as such, and accepted gifts for his master, with which he withdrew to Amsterdam. His actions in France being disavowed by the sultan, Louis XIII., who had even supplied his travelling expenses, demanded his extradition from the States General, but in vain, for on his father's death he became the Moorish agent in Holland. It is possible, therefore, that after all the disavowal was but Moorish diplomatic practice.* A subsequent treaty with France was disowned, it being alleged that the supposed plenipotentiary† was only the secretary of the real one who did not go; that he had inserted his name in the letters of credence without authority; and that, having sold the presents he was bringing back at Marseilles, he had retired into private life.[1] One Moorish envoy to Spain had for his object the redemption of Moorish captives and the restoration of Arabic MSS.‡

A Sham Ambassador.
1631.
1637.
1682.
1609.

A later envoy to France, Ben 'Aïsà, cut a very different figure, for his wit was the amusement of the Court, and made the fortune of the *Mercure Galant*, which reported or invented jokes for him. It was Ben 'Aïsà who was entrusted with his master's proposal for the hand of the great Louis' daughter; and to excuse the number of wives Ismâïl already had, he declared that in Morocco this was necessary to secure the qualities which one Parisienne

Humour and Sentiment.
1699.

* The State correspondence on this subject is given in full in the *Revue d'Hist. Dipl.*, Paris, 1888, p. 27. (B. Mus, Ac. 6885)

† Mohammed Thamîm, a muḳaddam or sergeant of police.

‡ Moh. el Ḥammás: see his life in the Nashar el Mathâni, and his own account of his journey, translated into French by M. H. Sauvaire.

[1] St. Amant, p. 22; St. Olon, p. 132.

possessed. From the field on which the Moors had been routed by Charles Martel this envoy collected handfuls of earth as a relic. Having once been liberated without ransom by our James II., whom he found in exile in Paris,* he took the occasion to express his thanks, and altogether made an impression on the gay city.[1]

A subsequent envoy, Kaid Ṭahar Fanîsh, refused to accord the French monarch the title of sultan, and the letter he bore was addressed, "To the chief of the French nation who is now at the head of the Government, Louis XIV.: peace be to him who walks in the right way."†[2] George III. was addressed as the "Ȧdhîm," "mighty one," of the English, or simply by a borrowed Spanish word "er-rey." A letter of the blood-thirsty El Yazeed addressed "To the chief of the English, Rey George" is on official paper water-marked "G.R.," but perhaps this is only a translation, for it is in Spanish.[3]

A Question of Titles.

1778.

1790.

In our own time, the ambassador to London after the war with Spain—whose object was to raise a loan wherewith to pay the indemnity claimed,—presented the Lord Mayor with £200 for

1860.

Recent English Experiences.

* Probably to his report was due the letter from Ismâîl to James II. at this time which is to be found in the *Archives du Département des Affaires étrangères*, at Paris. (Angleterre, 75.)

† This conclusion to the address is a typical specimen of Oriental craft, for as the recipient of this particular document, being a "Nazarene infidel," did not walk in "the right way" (*i.e.* of Mohammed), no desire of peace with him was thereby expressed, only a "colourable imitation" which would serve till an occasion for war might arise. The phrase translated "the right way"—"Ṣirátah el mustaḳîmah"—is solely applied to Islám. Mohammed XVII. wrote to Louis XVI. to excuse this action, asking not to be addressed as sultan himself, since God only knew who were sultans; others would at last be dragged face downward to hell with a cord round their necks. If the Turks used the term, it was because the letters were only sent from wazeers, not from the sovereign himself.

[1] Thomassy, *La Question d'Orient sous Louis XIV.*

[2] Sylvestre de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. iii., p. 262, contains the letter.

[3] F.O. Docs., vols. xiii., xvii.

charities, probably the "secret service money" with which, in accordance with custom, he was doubtless furnished to facilitate his errand. When Morocco was invited
1897. to take part in the Victorian Diamond Jubilee, the Regent wished to seize the opportunity to utilise his representative for diplomatic purposes; but as since the
1892. promises made by the late sultan to Sir Charles Euan-Smith were disregarded, the Government had refused to receive a special mission from the Moors,* this was not permitted. Morocco was, therefore, unrepresented at the Jubilee, although the sultan's presents got as far as Gibraltar, and the envoy—formerly a pupil at Chatham—had also set out for England.

* "The Queen cannot consent to receive a Special Mission from Morocco if your representations to the Sultan remain entirely unheeded." Lord Salisbury, Despatch of March 24th, 1892, to Sir C. Euan-Smith. (Morocco No. 1, 1892.)

EAST AND WEST IN PRESENT-DAY TANGIER

CHAPTER THE EIGHTEENTH

FOREIGN RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES IN MOROCCO

IT seems strange to most new-comers to Morocco that a land in which the lives and property of natives are so insecure should offer such security to foreigners, especially in view of what passed in the days of the rovers; but the actual conditions are not really anomalous, they have their roots far back in mediæval centuries, whence it is well worth while to trace their growth. The rights at present enjoyed by foreigners in this Empire have been ranged by the distinguished writer Mas Latrie under the following heads:—

Classification of Rights.

1. Security of person and liberty in transactions.
2. Jurisdiction and irresponsibility of consuls.
3. Right to places of business, churches and graveyards.
4. Individual responsibility.
5. Renunciation of the right of escheatage.
6. Reciprocal abandonment of piracy.
7. Protection of wrecks and abolition of right to flotsam.
8. Admission of strangers under an allied flag.
9. Permission to freely transport, store and sell merchandise, and to collect payment.
10. Free exportation of unsold goods.

At first those traders who ventured to remain on shore found shelter only in the fandaḳs or caravansarais in which they transacted their business. Ultimately they monopolised certain of these buildings, and as their numbers increased the various nationalities segregated in separate buildings, sometimes veritable little strongholds, each internally administered by an elected chief, in whose authority we have the germ of consular jurisdiction. An inconvenience which had early to be guarded against by treaty, was the custom of holding the consul or chief responsible for the debts of those under his charge. This was presumably the original condition on which jurisdiction was granted, and was thoroughly in accord with the patriarchal system upon which the Moorish administration is based.[1]

Original Provision.

The oldest treaty[2] at present available* was signed at Tlemçen by the Beni Marîn ameer, 'Ali V. (Abu'l Ḥasan), with Majorca as the other contracting party. It was to remain in force for ten years, and stipulated that the subjects of either country should be at liberty to visit the other with merchandise of every description, the freedom of their persons, goods, ships and interests being guaranteed on sea or land. Thus it was that, even during the piracy days, ships bound for Morocco itself were free, just as on the desert the traveller who claims an Arab's hospitality will be protected by the very man who otherwise would have despoiled, perhaps have murdered, him. By the same treaty the export of wheat was forbidden, as also that of beans, hides, cows, goats, and arms, but all else might

The Oldest Available Treaty. 1339.

* Primaudiae mentions (apparently on the authority of Caffaro) a treaty signed in 1161 between the Genoese and Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, who, however, only commenced to reign in 1184.

[1] See p. 224, foot. [2] Given in Mas Latrie's *Traités* pt. ii., p. 192.

pass on paying the usual dues. Goods to be submitted to the ameer were not to pay the duty levied on all other imports.

Twenty years had not passed when the question of jurisdiction was placed on a federal footing by an agreement with Pisa.[1] But first it was essential to admit the principle of individual responsibility,* which being done, it was enacted that questions between foreigners should be submitted to their consuls, with right of appeal to the ḳáḍi in disputes with natives.† It was also stipulated that, contrary to Muslim law, the property left by foreigners dying in Morocco should not be escheated to the State. At the same time the right of requisitioning one in three of any empty foreign vessels for the service of the State was accorded, hire to be paid, and the consuls to make the selection. No doubt the convenience thus afforded was one of the main inducements to the Moors to facilitate the development of maritime relations.

Extra Territorial Jurisdiction.

1358.

Thus were the foundations laid of still existing privileges, for whatever may be said about the manner in which the Moors fulfil obligations, it must be acknowledged that, in principle if not in practice, they have always held to the engagements of their ancestors. Even in the absence of "most favoured nation" clauses, it has seldom been a difficult matter to obtain for one what had already been accorded to another. When at last England appeared on the scene, it was only

Moorish Honour.

1585.

* Art 3.—"Che se alcuno mercatante de' vostri fa alcuno fallo, che ne debba esser puniti, civé nella persona e nell' haver suo; e se' l mercatante muore, che il suo havere lo quale ha tra le mani, che non debba esser tocchato."

† Art 11.—"E quando la questione fune dal Saracino al Cristiano, che torni alla ragione de' Saraceni e de' loro cadi."

1 See TRONCI, *Annale de Pisa*, and FANUCCI, *Storia dei tre celebri Popoli dell' Italia*, vols. iii., iv.

to obtain an edict from Ahmad V. that English subjects should not be molested or enslaved,[1] a privilege already long enjoyed by others, and immediately infringed, for it was with the opening of the seventeenth century that the Moorish pirates most effectually terrorised not only British merchantmen, but also British hamlets on our southern coast.[2]

Appointment of Consuls.

The next important group of concessions—some of which had already been granted in practice, if not by treaty—were the result of long-spurned negotiations re-opened by the French by force of arms, when Razelli was commissioned a second time to check the growing power of the rovers. By the third of the treaties then drawn up,[3] signed at Saffi, the right to appoint consuls in all parts in which French interests existed was confirmed, Moorish ambassadors were empowered to settle disputes between Moors in France—a provision worthy of notice—corresponding power being confirmed to the ambassador or consuls of France in Morocco, each party to judge cases brought against its own subjects, without appeal to the other.

1630.

1631.

Priests and Captives.

Freedom was accorded for Christian priests to travel in the country, but only for the benefit of those of their own nationality. A subsequent treaty, signed by the same parties, directed specially against the rovers of Salli, stipulated that on both sides captives should be liberated without charge, and that France might attack any port that refused to comply in this matter. This was a most important concession, for it put an end to the favourite Moorish tactics of denying responsibility, and doubtless it was in view of

1635.

[1] HAKLUYT, vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 177; and KERR'S *Voyages*, vol. vii.

[2] See FORSTER'S *Life of Sir John Eliot*, 1864, vol. i., pp. 193, 317, 320, 428, etc.; and contemporaneous writers; also Record Office, Dom. Series, vol. 1625–6, pp. 10–341, and vol. 1635–6, p. 303.

[3] See *Tableau des Etab. franc. en Algérie*, 1841, p. 418.

this that war was afterwards declared against Gibraltar, while desiring to remain at peace with England.*

Responsibility for Debt.

The only other concession of importance in that century was the acceptance by the Moorish government of the responsibility for the payment of debts due from its subjects to foreigners, which had grown out of the impossibility of otherwise collecting

SCENE ON THE TANGIER MARKET

1684. them. Ismâïl wrote to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, "As for the English merchants that are here resident, their debts shall be satisfied, which being done, none shall remain in my country."[1] If no greater haste was displayed in discharging these obligations than is experienced by the European merchants in Morocco to-day, it may be well understood how it came to pass that the English merchants of those days remained. On the other hand

* See chapter xvi., p. 340.

[1] Letter preserved by OCKLEY.

the Moors were allowed to prevent those foreign merchants whose debts were unpaid from leaving the country. As recently as the French bombardment, the English vice-consul at Mogador was detained in the town when the others embarked, on account of his indebtedness for customs dues,[1] which were formerly paid in goods as required. At present, although this right is no longer enforced, all foreign claims on natives are presented to the Government for collection, and as they are most reluctantly paid, it is the custom to allow them to accumulate until their total warrants the despatch of a gunboat to support the demands, when the most pressing are discharged to keep the cannon silent, and the rest are carried forward to a new account.

1844.

The most important concessions of all, perhaps, were obtained in the eighteenth century, which opened in one of the blackest of Moorish epochs, the long reign of Mulai Ismâïl—then just half through—and closed upon the wise administrations of Sidi Mohammed XVII. and Mulai Suláïmán II. Ismâïl issued an edict to Fray Diego, a Spaniard, to administer justice among all the Christian captives, but the friar refused to accept the charge, and appointed laymen.[2]

Important Concessions.

1704.

During the same reign Stewart signed the first of England's important treaties,[3] one of the stipulations of which was mutual permission for the examination of the passports carried by the vessels of either party.

1721.

This was confirmed and extended by Russel,[4] the new agreement containing several fresh concessions; *e.g.*, Moorish subjects (including Jews) to be free to traffic for thirty days only in Gibraltar or Minorca, and to be free to leave; questions between Englishmen and natives to come before the

Treaties of 1721 & 1728.

1728.

[1] Murray, vol. i., p. 101.
[2] De el Puerto; Godard, p. 531.
[3] Hertslet's Collection, vol. i., p. 89.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 93.

governor and consul; native servants of British subjects to be free from all taxation; all British subjects captured in any vessel to be free; provisions for Gibraltar or for the British fleet to be purchasable duty free in any port.

1734. It was next agreed that British subjects taken on prizes should be delivered to their consul,[1] and 1750. later they obtained the important concession of inviolability of domicile and property, excepting on a special order from the sultan.[2] By a subsequent convention 1752. the Dutch secured trial by the sultan alone—with the consul present—of a foreigner charged with killing a Moor.

But the most satisfactory treaty of the period had yet to come, being that of De Breugnon for France, signed at Marrákesh.[3] After introducing the "most favoured nation" principle, so far as port dues were concerned, it stipulated that the French might appoint as many consuls as they liked, in ports *or other places*, who should have precedence over all others, and who should pay no customs dues; native clerks, interpreters, couriers and other official employés, were not to be interfered with in the discharge of their duties; their persons and domiciles in any place whatever should be respected, and they should pay no imposts; freedom of worship in their homes was guaranteed, Christians of other nationalities being free to be present; the sultan, or his highest local representative, was to decide between Moors and Frenchmen, without the interference of the ḳádi, the same right being reserved to Moors in France; the consul might be present to defend a fellow countryman, but not to be considered responsible for him, or for his or other debts; French vessels to be subjected to no search for slaves after notification had been given to the local

"Most Favoured Nations."

1767.

[1] HERTSLET, l.c., p. 95. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[3] MARTENS' *Recueil*, vol. i., p. 57; *Tab. des Etab. fr. en Alg.*, 1841, p. 422.

authorities of their arrival, that precautions might be taken to prevent slaves escaping to them; the French were to be at liberty to take refuge from their enemies in Moorish ports, but the Moors were not to venture within thirty miles of France; commerce was to be unrestricted, and no duty charged on unsold articles.

With the exception of the abolition of slavery altogether, there is little to add to this list till the signing of the treaties now in force. The most important of these were arranged by England shortly before the Spanish war, all privileges previously granted being therein re-stated and confirmed. Spain obtained little of general interest by her treaties after the war—only the provisions for religious worship quoted elsewhere*—and the subsequent treaties have only affected tariffs and minor regulations, such as lighthouse, posts and telegraphs.†

1816. *Existing Privileges.* 1856.

There is now reciprocal freedom of trade between Morocco and all other countries,‡ and the subjects of all having treaty relations with this Empire are at liberty to hire and build in the treaty ports or royal cities, where, if necessary, the Moorish authorities are to provide them with sites on building lease.§ Travel is also free, within the limits of the sultan's actual authority,

Summary of Rights.

* Chapter xv., p. 328.

† As there is no Government postal service in Morocco, native courier services have been established by the English, French and Spanish Governments, and some few enterprising individuals whose revenue is principally derived from philatelists. The English laid the first cable, from Gibraltar, in defiance of the Moors, when once permission had been obtained, and the Spaniards have since followed suit from Tarifa. Both land near Tangier, but neither extends inland as yet.

‡ The Commercial Privileges are summarised in chapter xix.

§ This clause has been extensively acted upon in the past in some of the coast ports; but as, owing to the absence of other accommodation, the lessees have refused to budge when the lease expired, and have often found ways of expending all the subsequent rental on repairs, the Moorish Government has not been tempted to experiment further in this direction, and things remain at a standstill.

with certain police precautions.* Consuls may be appointed to any port or city they may find most convenient for the affairs of their country ;† they may have places of worship, and may hoist their national flags at all times on their houses or in their boats ; if not engaged in trade they pay no duties or taxes ;‡ they and their employees are at liberty to go and come as they please.

Subjects of friendly nations are exempt from all taxes or impositions, from military service on land or sea, from forced loans, and from all extraordinary contributions. Their domiciles and other premises are to be respected, and may not be arbitrarily visited or searched. They are free to exercise the rites of their own religions, and have their own burial places. Mohammedan and Jewish subjects of foreign Powers enjoy equal privileges with others. Deserters from one of the contracting parties may not be received into the service of the other. Freedom to depart or dispose of their goods is assured to all foreigners, whether in peace or war. In the absence of a will or heirs the administration of the estate of foreigners who die in Morocco lies in the hands of the consul.

To the foreign consular officials also is reserved the settlement of all disputes and claims among foreigners

* Which practically mean paying high wages to two makhâznîs or policemen who act as drags on the party, annoying the country people, demanding supplies, and preventing their employers from leaving the beaten track, or running the imaginary risks which lend such flavour to accounts of travel—in short, who tyrannise over the intruding infidels, and make what they can out of them. Residents generally dispense with their services, although, in case of theft or attack, the Moorish authorities will dispute the claim on them for damages, on the ground of "neglect of police precautions," which half a century ago were required within a mile of Tangier![1]

† Yet Fez has only been occupied for the last few years, and there is urgent need for another consul at Marrákesh, if not at Mequinez.

‡ For a detailed case of flagrant abuse of these privileges see *The Times of Morocco*, December 14th, 1889.

1 For travelling in Morocco see *The Land of the Moors*.

Extra-territorial Jurisdiction.

without native intervention, and so are all charges or claims brought by Moors against foreigners, each consular official trying those of his own nationality. Moors charged by foreigners are, on the other hand, to be tried by the native courts, foreign officials having the right to be present. Moorish claims must be made through the Moorish authorities, who have a right to be present during the trial. The right of appeal is reserved on either side.

These stipulations regulate the most important feature of the rights of foreigners in Morocco, and their just observance raises the most intricate and difficult questions. As the colonies of foreigners have grown, and the number of conflicting national interests has further complicated the situation, new problems have been introduced which have yet to be solved. What seems a simple matter when the subjects of two nations only are concerned, assumes a very different aspect when co-defendants, witnesses and others are introduced who owe allegiance elsewhere, and sometimes half a dozen nationalities or more are implicated in one case, to the hopeless confusion of justice. Mixed tribunals, such as exist in Egypt, have been proposed, and may yet be established, with all their faults, for the present happy-go-lucky system has become intolerable.

Another feature introduced by this privilege, which still further complicates matters, is the formulation of intricate local regulations for the government of the various nationalities, such as the special Parliamentary laws which formerly existed for the benefit or otherwise of British subjects in Morocco,[1] and the "Queen's Regulations" more recently issued by the Privy Council to supersede them. It would be out of place here even to summarise the twenty closely-printed two-column

Foreign National Regulations.

1889.

[1] HERTSLET'S *Collection*, vols. v., p. 503, and x., p. 923.

pages of the *London Gazette*,[1] wherein are contained the involved provisions of this formidable Order in Council, or the subsequent additions and emendations which have been found necessary. But it is worth while noting that therein, "Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means, Her Majesty the Queen has power and jurisdiction in relation to Her Majesty's subjects and others within the dominions of His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco and Fez," a Consular Court for Morocco has been established—subject to the Supreme Court of Gibraltar—presided over by the principal local consular officer, assisted in certain cases by assessors chosen from among the available British subjects or *protégés*. Appeal is to the Gibraltar Court, and thence to the Privy Council; but in criminal cases special permission for this must be obtained from the Council. British subjects in Morocco are required to annually register themselves, and pay a fee of half-a-crown for a certificate. A ruinous scale of fees appertains to this order.

Fugitive Offenders.

Even in the absence of these regulations, the treaties quoted have prevented Morocco from becoming an asylum for fugitive offenders, since warrants issued in Europe can always be executed here, the Moorish Government being bound to assist in the capture and transportation of foreigners on the demand of their consuls. Moreover, the consular courts have the power to deport foreign subjects without appeal, a power that has several times been exercised, especially by the Spaniards. The only fugitives from justice to whom Morocco is open are those insignificant convicts who from time to time escape from the Spanish *presidios*, or the occasional deserters from the Algerian army, who are content to "turn Moor," and leave no traces of their miserable lot. The apparent lawlessness of the country has indeed tempted experiments

[1] Friday, December 13, 1889.

in the introduction of gambling establishments, and a few years ago a serious effort was made to establish a Moroccan Monaco at Tangier. After a brilliant commencement,
1889. free-handed largesse to the local charities and all who would accept it, heavy debts were incurred on every side, and the promoter decamped. Morocco offers no field for this class of foreigners, and though the moral standard of those at present here may not be of the highest, it is certainly no lower than that of southern Europe, while it is much higher than is met with in the Levant.

The great trouble with which new arrivals have to contend is the difficulty of securing quarters, since the Moorish authorities are so averse to extending the limits of foreign-owned property, that every obstacle is thrown in their way. In this the Moors deserve our sympathy, as well as the homeless new-comers, condemned to hotels or inconvenient accommodation. Their experience in the past of legal, religious and social complications arising out of permission granted to foreigners to settle here, has made them extremely chary of allowing new occasions, and they have frequently paid heavy sums to secure their removal. It was therefore considered a magnificent stroke when in the Madrid
1880. Convention a clause was inserted which had been kept out of all formal treaties, stating that "The right to hold property is recognised in Morocco as belonging to all foreigners." But this was, as is usual in Moorish tactics, saddled with the provision that "The purchase of property must take place with the previous consent of the Government," a consent which—it need hardly be said—is only granted when most urgently demanded by some energetic foreign representative, and not to be obtained by ordinary mortals unprepared to bribe with a free hand. Notaries or officials signing or permitting deeds of sale

The Right to hold Property.

without express authorisation are severely punished, and the theoretic right is nothing more than the recognition of ownership in the few cases in which it has been obtained with the formalities of native law. A most vexatious, even if a necessary, provision is that all disputes concerning property shall be decided by the native law, which leaves an open door both to intimidation and corruption. And the active opposition of the Moorish Government goes further than the vetoing of sales—which includes the incarceration and fining of would-be sellers who are unprotected—for, except at Tangier, building operations require special permits, and if these are not obtained, such workmen as may be induced to serve the Nazarenes are promptly arrested. The only way to evade this has been to import foreign labour, which has been done more than once with success.

Foreign Sanitary Commission. 1814.

Among the important innovations of the enlightened reign of Mulai Sulaïmán II. was the delegation to a board composed of the foreign consuls in Tangier, of the right of exercising precautions to prevent the re-introduction of the plague which had recently devastated the Empire.* To this day, therefore, the Foreign Sanitary Commission con-

* A few years before an English vessel from Alexandria brought pilgrims and the plague to Morocco. The consuls applied to the sultan for permission to put the next arrival in quarantine, and in reply he sent a dateless letter granting their request, but sent a dated one to the customs administrators to let them land, which was attended to, as having more weight than the other. In consequence, out of ten thousand in Tangier, in a few months two thousand two hundred and thirty-four died of the plague, and famine followed, but an important lesson had been learned.[1] This juggling with letters is a favourite method. A letter authorising the erection of a British post office at Tangier was approved by Sir C. Euan-Smith, and returned for the sultan's signature, but on being examined before delivery, a sentence was found to have been added by which "the concession for the site had been entirely cancelled." It was therefore returned, and six hours later a satisfactory document was delivered.[2]

1 THOMASSY, p. 409.

2 Blue Book, Morocco No. 1, 1892.

trols all entries at Moorish ports from abroad. The presidency falls in turn to the chief foreign officials, who, in this matter, exercise unquestioned authority. Under their direction Mogador Island was long used as a lazaretto for pilgrims returning from Mekka, the principal centre of danger, and many local sanitary improvements have been effected. Although such precautions are opposed to Muslim theory and practice, we find Ahmad V.,—as quoted verbatim by El Ufráni,—writing to his son, Abu Fáris, to disinfect in strong vinegar all letters received from the plague-smitten province of Sûs, and then to make his secretary read them, touching nothing from that part himself, and fleeing when the first case should occur in Marrákesh.[1]

Another important step was a convention providing for the erection on Cape Spartel of a lighthouse at the expense of the foreign Powers interested, to be maintained under their direction, but to be the property of the Moorish Government, and to be neutral in case of war.[2] It is managed by a committee formed of the foreign representatives in Tangier, who preside in rotation. Notes were subsequently interchanged between Great Britain and France agreeing that a semaphore should be erected and managed at Cape Spartel by Lloyd's Committee, under the Moorish flag and guarded by Moorish soldiers; to be closed during war, should any one of the Powers concerned require it.[3]

The Spartel Convention. 1865. 1892.

In a land where the very officials of friendly nations have suffered so much, it is not to be expected that private individuals should have fared well, even though we eliminate from our reckon-

Treatment of Foreigners.

[1] See also En-Náṣiri, vol. iii., p. 90.

[2] Hertslet's *Collection*, vols. xii., p. 658, and xiv., p. 375. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. xix., p. 217.

ing all that was suffered by prisoners and slaves.* In these "piping times of peace," when so much is made of every trifling insult or personal injury, it is worth while to recall what our predecessors in Morocco had to pass through, if only that we may appreciate the vast improvement which has taken place. Time was—and that not so very long since—when Europeans were not treated much better than Jews are now, and when it was the most difficult matter to obtain redress, or to bring an offender to book. How difficult soever this may still be to accomplish, it is accomplished now as it never was a century or two ago.

Reasonable Justice."

A typical instance of what was considered in those days reasonable justice is afforded by the "true account of the Layton affair," as given by Jackson,[1] just a hundred years since. It appears that Mr. Layton, an English merchant, having inadvertently deprived a Moorish woman of two of her teeth, it was impossible to satisfy her and the angry populace without applying the ancient law of "a tooth for a tooth." So the case was brought before the sultan on appeal, according to treaty, when so clamorous was the woman that the sultan was obliged to make an order in compliance with that law, the merchant being induced to submit in consideration of leave to load a cargo of wheat. In consequence of his compliance, Layton was received into no small favour, the sultan even desiring the appointment of so accommodating a Nazarene as British consul.

The Tables Turned. 1772.

Another instance of serious results arising from an accident was the removal, shortly before this time, of all the foreign consuls from Tetuan to Tangier, on account of a native woman having been shot by

* In 1635, when help was sought against them from England, the Salleteens imprisoned all the English in the town, but this was only natural.[2]

[1] p. 263. [2] P.R.O., State Papers, 1635, p. 608.

a European while hunting.* Two hundred years before,
1604. an English watchmaker residing in Marrákesh ventured to box the ears of a shareef who had insisted on his taking the muddy side of the road. For this the fiery foreigner was promptly seized and condemned to lose the offending members, his hand and tongue. But Captain John Smith, who tells the tale, narrates that he being a favourite, three hundred of the king's guard broke open the prison and delivered him, "although the act was next degree to treason."[1]

Curious Royal Letter.

One of the strangest letters ever penned by a Moorish sultan arose out of an assault by a shareef, or sacred noble, on M. Sordeau, the consul for France.† Mulai Suláïmán was forced to respect on one side the political rank of the complainant, and on the other the religious rank of the assailant, and in his dilemma wrote a personal letter to M. Sordeau.[2] After assuring him of his kindly feelings to him as a "guest," the sultan continues:

1820.

* "Those who were charged to put these orders in execution went about it with so much rigour that one would have thought the place had been taken by storm. The foreign merchants were to go and settle at Tangier, where there were no houses for them; but the Emperor means to force them to build their own habitations. . . . The European Jews must undergo the same fate, unless they will take the black habit, like those of the country." (*Annual Register*, 1772, p. 142.)

† Much was made in the newspapers, some years ago, of a very similar incident which occurred to Signor Scovasso, then Italian Minister in Tangier. Passing through the since demolished gate at the head of the main street, in the crowd of a Ramaḍán afternoon, the old gentleman used his cane on the bare legs of an ignorant Dráwi to clear a way; in a moment the hungry man's knife was out, and would have been used but for the timely interference of other natives. Of course, the telegraph flashed alarming news of the "outrage," and every sort of reparation was demanded by the Press. The poor fellow was cast into gaol, lashed till nearly dead, and an apology was offered to "offended Italy." On the true state of the case being brought to the Minister's knowledge by my father, he at once objected to the contemplated further punishment of the man, whom he removed to the French hospital, and sent a daily allowance of food till well.[3]

[1] p. 871. [2] GRÅBERG, p. 280. [3] See *Times of Morocco*.

"If you were not Christians, having feeling hearts, and patiently bearing injuries, after the example of your Prophet, whom GOD has in glory, Jesus the son of Mary, who, in the Book which He brought you in the name of GOD, commands you that if any person strike you on one cheek turn to him the other also; and who (always blessed of GOD!) also did not defend Himself when the Jews sought to kill Him—from whom GOD took Him.* And in our Book it is said by the mouth of our Prophet, there is no people among whom there are so many disposed to good works as those who call themselves Christians; and certainly among you there are many priests and holy men who are not proud."

The letter goes on to plead that the prisoner was insane, and begs compassion, in the name of the Most Merciful GOD.

Plea of Sanctity.

Hitherto the plea of sanctity on the part of criminals had always proved the greatest obstacle in the way of justice in these cases, but at length it was recognised as insufficient, though some time had yet to elapse before prompt punishment could be obtained for shareefs, and even now the feeling of the people is so strong that such questions still present great difficulty. At last a shareef who had fired on a French
1842. boat was flogged for it, though not till the demand was enforced by the presence of a man-of-war,
1855. and later a shareef was put to death for murdering a European. The victim was this time again a Frenchman, M. Rey, and it was only by the united action of the diplomatic body that this victory was won, and since then the question has never been raised. At present, although there is always the usual procrastination and shuffling, assaults on Europeans, by

* An allusion to the statement in the Ḳor'án that Christ was not crucified, but was taken from the Jews and replaced by another, bearing His likeness, without their knowledge.

whomsoever committed, are invariably atoned for, the neighbourhood of the occurrence usually being heavily fined as well.*

Present Security.

Consequently the lives and property of Europeans are as safe in Morocco, wherever the authority of the sultan is complete, as in any other semi-civilised land, although to have a valid claim for damages, foreign travellers are supposed to be accompanied by two

Photograph by W. Rudduck

"ALAS! THE LAND STEAMER'S COME!"

native policemen or makhâznîs as guards. Every village at which a halt is made provides a guard for the night in its own interests, and throughout the lowlands journeys

* The murder of the Herico family at Tangier in 1839 had led to diplomatic correspondence, and to some improvement in the position of foreigners.[1] In a more recent case, in 1889, the murderer of Miss Jordan and her maid at Casablanca was shot in the presence of a guard from a Spanish man-of-war.[2]

[1] See F.O. Docs., vol. ix.

[2] See *The Times of Morocco*, September 7, and October 19, 1889.

are undertaken without fear.* Something of this state of things is doubtless due to the moral quality recognised by
1858. 'Abd er-Raḥmán II., who wrote that the Christians, at least, kept their word, but that the Moors had neither word nor faith. And it is the proudest boast of English sojourners in Morocco that they have become known as "the people of one word."†

* In 1897 the writer traversed the central plains on a Rover cycle, and although abundant curiosity was manifested, no more troublesome interference was encountered than occasional attempts to ascertain by applying a dagger what the Dunlops really contained. Yet the Regent thought it necessary to send a special request not to use them in the city, lest some fanatic might venture to attack such strange apparitions—which the natives took at first sight to be "flying devils!" Others, who had heard of the marvellous methods of locomotion in "Nazarene-land," jumped at once to the conclusion that they were railway trains, and sadly exclaimed, "Alas! the Land Steamer's come!"—to them a sure indication that the foreigners were taking possession of the Maghrib.

† But that they have not always borne this character is shown by a circular letter issued by Mohammed XVII.,[1] who, however, was at that time greatly influenced by Spanish intrigues against England.

"In the name of GOD: to all the Consuls. Peace to him who followeth the right way.

"Know ye that for these thirty years we have observed the conduct of the English, and studied their character; we have always found that they never keep their word. We never could dive into their character, because they have no other than that of telling lies."

[1] Given in full in the *Annual Register* for 1788, p. 294.

BETWEEN THE GATES, TANGIER *Cavilla, Photo., Tangier*

CHAPTER THE NINETEENTH

COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE AND FOREIGN PROTECTION

THE influence of the commercial instinct of the Moors has left its traces on all their dealings with Europe.* In the thirteenth century we find the trade between Marseilles and Ceuta regulated by statute,[1] and already wine was one of the imports. At the same time Venice and Flanders were supplied with sugar from Morocco, the best being from the province of Sûs. In a list of merchandise for sale in Flanders at this period,[2] among the imports from Morocco there figure also wax, skins and cummin, and from Sajilmása (now Tafilált) dates, a list which might have been excerpted from any present-day market report.† The only noteworthy object is sugar, the cultivation, though

Early Exports.

* The disapproval by the Muslim theologians of the increasing commerce with "infidels" has been rather directed against the evil habits introduced thereby than against the trade, though many have desired complete isolation as the sole method of maintaining their standard of life. It is a mistake therefore to represent them as opposed to commerce itself. En-Náṣiri discusses this question in vol. iv., pp. 266–270 Ali Bey heard a sermon on the subject in the chief mosque of Tangier.[3]

† In the tenth century Ibn Haukal[4] gives as the produce of Morocco black and white slaves, saddle-mules, coarse cloth, coral, ambergris, gold, honey, silk and goat-skins.

[1] In 1228. Mas Latrie's *Traités*, pt. ii., p. 89.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[3] Sp. Ed., vol. i., p. 62.
[4] *Trans.*, Ouseley, 18co, p. 16.

not the consumption, of which has long since ceased in Morocco. At one time the value of Moorish sugar was such that it was exchanged, weight for weight, against Italian marble. An interesting parallel with the condition of things to-day is the existence of a petition from the magistrates of Barcelona to the ameer Yûsef IV.,[1] 1302. requesting permission to export wheat "at customary prices," which shows that even then they sought no innovation. It is also noteworthy how European traders of those days made their way up country,[2] quite as freely, it appears, as at the present time.

English Beginnings.

English merchants seem to have been considerably behind those of the Mediterranean in their Morocco ventures,* although they have since so fully made up for lost time. The title of a quaint report included in the Hakluyt collection,[3] runs: "The Originall of the first Voyage for Traffique into the Kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie in the yeere 1551, with a tall ship called the *Lion*, of London . . . of about an hundred and fifty tunnes." This "gallant merchant ship,"

* Although the story of the famous Whittington—whose birth occurred about 1358, and whose successful venture with his cat must have taken place about 1375—as it is popularly told, makes the people with whom the ship traded Moors, this cannot be accepted as showing commercial relations with Morocco. The actual scene of the occurrences described appears to have lain in Algeria, if not on the Guinea coast, where independent history tells of the wreck of a Portuguese with a cat. A similar story had already been told by Wassáf, the Persian, who referred it to 1219. It is, moreover, known that the first cat sent to South America fetched six hundred "pieces of eight." It is doubtful whether pussy was ever unknown in Morocco, where occasional plagues of rats still devastate the crops. A *History of Richard Whittington*, published in Durham, says the venture was to "Barbary, a rich country inhabited by the Moors, not before known to the English," and the author of the *Memoirs of George Barnwell* (1811) says the events concerned Algiers and its Dey. The use of the much-abused word "Moors" is no indication, as it might mean any African nation. See also Sir Walter Besant's *Life of Whittington*.

[1] Mas Latrie's *Traités*, p. 29. [2] See Godard, p. 421.
[3] 1810 Ed., vol. ii., p. 467.

we are told, brought to Saffi and Agadîr linen, woollens, cloth, coral, amber, jet, etc.; and returning took sugar, dates, almonds, and "malassos, or sugar syrrope." From Italian sources we learn that at the same time "Mequinez honey" was exported to Egypt.[1] Was this treacle?*

The promise of this nascent trade—the honour of commencing which was however disputed by others[2]—appears to have aroused much interest among the courtiers of "Good Queen Bess." We find her establishing a correspondence with the ameer, portions of which are still extant
1577. in the Public Record Office,[3] and sending to him as ambassador Mr. Edmund Hogan, who appears to have concerned himself chiefly with procuring "saltpeter."[4] There were then already settled in Marrákesh several English, French, Flemish, Portuguese and other merchants, many more, indeed, than there are to-day. Among the notable Morocco speculators of that date were the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, who obtained letters patent from their royal mistress for trade with this country under "certaine priuiledges." A special charter was also
1585. granted to an "Exeter Company of Barbary Adventurers."

What the result of these ventures was we do not know, but in competition with other fields of greater promise the Barbary trade appears to have lost interest for nearly a century,† till about the time that the British cast their eyes and hands on Tangier. Then we read in the Tangier Colonial Correspondence[5] of

"The Barbarie Discovery."

* The Moorish equivalent for treacle is "sugar-honey."

† In 1635 the trade of "Barbary merchants" with Morocco was restricted to certain ports,[6] and in 1639–40 an Order in Council was issued directing all their vessels to go first to Saffi.[7]

1 Uzzano, *Prattica della Mercatura.*
2 "Aldaie professeth himselfe to haue bene the first inwenter of this trade." (*Ibid.*, l.c.)
3 Modern Royal Letters, Second Series, No. 34, Emperor of Morocco. See page 337.
4 Hakluyt, vol. ii., pp. 541, 602.
5 Record Office, No. 48, p. 120.
6 P.R.O., State Papers, vol. 1635, p. 533.
7 *Ibid.*, vol. 1639–40, p. 379.

"The Barbarie Discovery," no less than a castle and several islands (presumably at Mogador) "near Morocco and the Garden of Barbarie, a good harbour, where for English manufactures may be had wheat, barley, horses, camells, saltpeter, beeswax, goat-skins, dates, ambergris, etc., which would save long voyages to India, supply Tangier and the Caribe Islands, secure our trade to the southward, etc." But this Dorado was not for us, who were so soon after to abandon even mismanaged Tangier.

We did not, however, abandon our trade altogether, for two hundred English vessels are stated to have visited Salli during one year in Mulai Ismâïl's reign,[1] as against twelve French vessels in five months, and in the year that

1684. Tangier was given up two Englishmen, Nash and Parker, who had been enslaved by the pirates, on obtaining freedom set up in business at Tetuan. Braithwaite, writing forty years later, declares[2] that they "were the first English merchants in the country, and made fortunes before leaving." An explanation of the success of such men as these is afforded by a foreign writer in the suggestion that while the Spanish and Portuguese were prohibited by their ecclesiastics from amicable intercourse with infidels, the English heretics traded with them freely.

Not many years before this, Roland Frejus had landed at Alhucemas and made his way to Mulai Rasheed II. at

1666. Táza—where he was much pleased with the dignified bearing and style of the sultan—but in his object to obtain concessions for a "Compagnie d'Abouzème" to trade on that coast, he was unsuccessful.[3] He was described by Mouette as a false ambassador, whose letters were too cringing to effect their purpose,[4] and, indeed, he seems but to have been a private adventurer. This was only one of

Early Concessionnaires.

[1] Thomassy, p. 216.
[2] p. 85.
[3] See his own account, pub. 1670.
[4] *Histoire*, p. 96.

the many attempts to secure such concessions which have been made from the first, some with a show of success, though few achieved anything brilliant. Among other ventures worthy of note may be mentioned

The Danish Monopoly.

that of the Danes, who obtained through Captain Lützow for 50,000 piastres a year,

1753. a concession of the exclusive commerce of Salli and Saffi, but who, unable nevertheless to compete with the merchants of Mogador and Laraiche, became bankrupt.*[1] The members of the embassy were arrested in Marrákesh on the ground that some Danes had without permission established a fortified post at Agadîr. A similar attempt was made at Arkshîsh a decade later

1764. by an unfortunate Scotchman, George Glass, who was arrested by the governor of the Canaries, and his people at the newly-opened trading station were murdered

1784. by the Moors. At one time Spain obtained leave to export wheat from Casablanca at 8 okeas the fanega, instead of the 10 paid at Mogador, as she took enormous quantities. An ordinary annual export was 500,000 fanegas at 7 to 8 fcs. each, f.o.b. = f. 4,285,714 "tournois."[2]

1694. St. Olon informs us that in order to induce foreign merchants to settle in Morocco, all sorts of favours were held out to new-comers, till they were sufficiently involved in the trade to be unable to leave without abandoning their assets.[3] The French, he says, had the advantage of bringing their own manufactures—chiefly tartar, paper, "Fez" caps, and piece goods of low value—but never cash, always taking back more native produce

* In a letter of June, 1762, Consul Popham communicates an offer of the sultan to farm to the English the duties receivable at Tangier for 35,000 Mexican dollars a year.[4]

1 See RAVN'S account of the mission.
2 THOMASSY, p. 326.
3 p. 141.
4 F.O. Docs.

than their goods were worth.[1] Between them the Jews and the Christians did all the trade, Cadiz being the port of trans-shipment, a position which was later usurped by Gibraltar, and now no longer exists, in these days of direct steam services.

Character of Merchants.

The merchants who were in early days attracted by the doubtful chances of great profit in this trade seldom bore high characters, and the French Consulate at Salli had to be suppressed—and finally removed to Saffi*—because the French merchants had ruined their credit there by bad behaviour.[2] Their interested intermeddling in the traffic in Christian slaves is dealt with elsewhere,† and the influence of their surroundings seems to have had full effect.‡ Later on the Moorish government ventured to correct their practices. Mulai Sulaïmán II. went so far as to arrest an English merchant of Mogador, who was also the Dutch agent, for importing stuffs of an inferior quality, and sent him bound overland to Tangier, where he was delivered up to his consul-general with notice to quit the country within six months.[3] Similar rigour in these days of cut-down prices and demand for cheapness would not leave many merchants to trade, and it is not surprising that even at that time the sultan found the foreign trade at such low

1718.

* Apparently only opened to trade with the English in 1790.[4]

† See chapter xiv., p. 280.

‡ A well-known English lady resident recently gave it as her own experience that during her first year in Morocco she had been terribly shocked by the lies she heard; by the end of the second she had grown accustomed to them, and during the third year she almost began to tell them herself. In this connection it is worthy of note that most English people with a limited experience of foreign countries, especially when they only know one, believe it has been their misfortune to have settled in the most dishonest country in the world. A wider acquaintance with non-Protestant peoples would have shown that a difference of standard accounts for this fact, and that few others expect to be implicitly believed.

[1] p. 143. [2] Godard, p. 551. [3] Thomassy, p. 407.
[4] F.O. Docs., Morocco, vol. xvii., No. 16.

ebb after the battle of Trafalgar, that he threatened to close his ports if no more vessels came.*[1]

Yet this was the period when most concessions were made to foreign merchants, as the need of encouraging trade was so strongly felt. The Europeans who had been attracted to the new port of Mogador by offers of peculiar facilities were permitted to form a tribunal of commerce, the sentences of which were enforced by the government. By this arrangement the merchants practically ruled the town, and even governors were removed or punished on their demand.[2] This wonderful concession was due chiefly to the influence of the Genoese representative, Giuseppe Chiappe, to whom the sultan almost owed his throne, and it was power well exercised. Some years later the consular body met to discuss and elaborate a scheme for the reorganisation of the customs system, which shared the usual fate of such documents in Morocco.[3] Yet in the same year the only two English merchants then in the country were imprisoned by a prince to extort money, even while an English embassy was at Court.[4] Early in the present century Consul Douglas wrote that trade with Morocco was entirely in foreign vessels, even if some were British owned, and that not a British seaman was to be seen in Tangier.[5]

Peculiar Privileges. 1770.

1788.

1825.

* In 1807 Mulai Suláïmán wrote:—"To all the merchants at Mogador, Muslims, Christians, and Jews, greeting. I have found that this town does not contain any of the merchandise needed in this country. The reason is that you do not import into the country any of those goods which pay duty, which is of no more benefit to me than the ballast you discharge. I wish you to bring goods useful for the country and the Court. As for myself, God has granted that I should need nothing. I have instructed Ben Abd es-Ṣadok that every merchant who does not import useful things, or who only brings ballast, shall be at once sent away with his vessel empty. He will give you time to send this news to your friends. Peace be with you."[6]

1 GODARD, p. 577. 2 CHAILLET? MSS. Report in R.G.S. Library.
3 P.R. Office, F.O. Docs., Morocco, No. 16, gives full text. 4 JARDINE, p. 40.
5 F.O. Docs., No. 34. 6 THOMASSY, p. 379.

Things have greatly altered since then. Under the existing treaties absolute freedom of trade is assured, and all monopolies or prohibitions on imported goods are abolished, "except tobacco, pipes of all kinds used for smoking,* opium, sulphur, powder, saltpetre, lead, arms of all kinds, and ammunition of war," and the only monopolies of exports are "leeches, bark, tobacco and other herbs used for smoking in pipes," but the export of any article may be prohibited, six months being allowed to dispose of existing supplies.† No imports may be prohibited.

Present Commercial Rights.

"No tax, toll, duty or charge whatsoever, beside export duty," may be imposed in the dominions of Morocco; export duties may not exceed a tariff mutually agreed upon from time to time, and import duties may not exceed 10 % *ad valorem*. Goods transported by sea are not liable to a second duty, but a certificate that duty has been paid must be produced. Anchorage, pilotage and lighterage dues are fixed, the Moorish Government providing the lighters. Smuggling is punishable by fine or imprisonment, the amount of the former not exceeding treble the duty payable, or treble the value of prohibited goods, and the term of the latter not to exceed a year, the accused being tried by a British official or court. No foreigner is liable for debts contracted by another, unless he has made himself responsible; he may not be forced either to sell or buy. Debts contracted by Moors in Europe must be supported by documents signed before a British consular official or notary, which have full force in Moorish tribunals.

No compulsion of any kind may be exercised with foreign vessels in Moorish waters, and wrecks are to be "assisted in accord with the rules of friendship," the

* But this monopoly having been abolished, and prohibition of narcotics substituted, the permission to import personal supplies has been abused till they are cheaper than ever.

† Actually, wheat, barley, bones, etc., are prohibited.

captain and crew being free to proceed to any place at any time they wish, special care being taken in the district of Wád Nûn "to obtain and save them from those parts of the country." In case of war six months is allowed for subjects of the belligerent Power to depart.

Financing Extraordinary. 1822–1859.

The reign of Mulai 'Abd er-Raḥmán II. is marked by most noteworthy treatment of the foreign merchants. The sultan himself had been at one time customs administrator at Mogador, and had thus come into contact with Europeans, and

CAMP OF COUNTRY TRADERS ON TANGIER MARKET

learned their ways. The remarkable system which he employed was to allow the merchants to run up large debts for customs dues, and even to borrow cash from the customs administrators on government account, till they were so bound to him that he could generally have his own way with them. The same plan was employed with the leading Jewish merchants, to keep one of whom solvent ten thousand dollars were once paid out in cash.[1]

All so situated had periodically to repair to the Court with valuable presents, worth thousands of dollars,

[1] RICHARDSON, vol. i., p. 147.

to obtain extensions of credit. It was estimated on one occasion that fifteen merchants thus presented European goods to the value of some fifteen thousand dollars, which the sultan afterwards sold. No interest was charged, and the debtors were never pressed for payment, though they were not allowed to leave the country while they remained in debt,* and at their death their belongings were seized by way of settlement. "This ledger-management of a nation," says a contemporary writer, "is an effort of genius worthy of Mehemet Ali."[1] At the same time debts incurred by natives were discharged by the sultan, who more than recouped himself from them and their families. But so many failures had occurred, and so many irresponsible Moors had obtained credit by means of a display of fine clothes in Gibraltar, through which most of the trade was then conducted, that this responsibility was renounced.[2] 1858.

Then followed the epoch of greatest prosperity at Mogador, at that time the chief port, where certain leading shippers gained for themselves the description of "hundred-tonners" from the minimum that they would ship at once; a period of speculation since which trade has greatly declined on account of the competition of countries further removed, but more easily reached. In order to secure for themselves the advantages of steam service, since the Morocco ports lie out of the routes of through lines, the existing contracts were entered into with English and French companies. By these contracts the merchants undertake to ship all their goods at a certain price by those companies, in return for which the companies agree to maintain a regular service, and to pay certain annual sums to local charities, besides granting to shippers periodical free passes for

Shipping Arrangements.

* *Cf.* the case of a British vice-consul at Mogador in 1844.

[1] URQUHART, vol. i., p. 335. [2] RICHARDSON, vol. i., p. 160.

themselves and their families. At the end of each period for which a contract has been signed, there ensues a struggle to improve the terms by means of invitations to other lines to compete, by the employment of outside vessels, or by the formation of a local company to create an opposition.*

Recent Decline.

The position of the merchants is no longer what it once was, although the total value of the trade has steadily increased, and Mogador retains traditions of its own; relations between Europeans and natives—whether Moors or Jews—are better there than anywhere else on the coast. Tangier is perhaps the worst in this respect, for it has far too mixed and numerous a European population for them to maintain their position as can the little groups of merchants on the coast. Trade is no longer encouraged since the Europeans have so multiplied, and are so active in cutting down prices and pushing their goods that they are no longer courted, and the Jews have assumed such a position of importance in the foreign trade that foreigners begin to find things most unsatisfactory. The system of extended credits afforded by European houses is of itself productive of much harm, as every young clerk who can get a little credit obtains goods and sets up as a merchant, too often to fail. Many dispose, at cost price or less, of what they obtain to secure cash to invest in usury, a system which, more than any other, undermines healthy trade and precludes honest competition. Nearly all the foreign merchants now in the country came as clerks to their predecessors, since but few strangers succeed under the peculiar conditions existing.

No one with an eye to business who knows the country

* On the last occasion of a contested renewal, the "Salvador Steamship Company," formed for the purpose at Mogador, was able to sell out to the contracting shipowners, Messrs. Forwood Brothers of Liverpool, returning the price of its shares with a bonus.

can fail to see what opportunities it might be made to offer to the speculator or the man of solid business, if once opened up. But the mistake too often made is to suppose that in its present condition there is any real chance for honest dealing and for sound investments, unless supported by exceptional knowledge and abundant capital.*

Concession Hunting.

Without a thorough reform of the government—such as is not to be hoped for within measurable distance, or without a foreign occupation, for which it would be neither right nor politic to hope—no development by means of special grants and favours is to be expected. In former years monopolies were freely granted and as freely resumed, but a British

* A few of the many difficulties which present themselves to new-comers, to say nothing of those which develop with time and experiment, are accurately set forth in the following paragraphs by an old resident at Mogador :—

"In the first rank is the difficulty of obtaining house and store accommodation. In Mogador no European is allowed—though, in a few instances, the rule has been evaded—to live in the largest quarter of the town, the Madîna, which is jealously reserved for the habitations of Mohammedans. In the Mellâḥ, or original Jews' town, the drainage, accentuated by terrible overcrowding, is so bad that I cannot imagine any European wishing to live there. In the old Ḳaṣbah and the new, which form the quarter appointed for the residence of Moorish and foreign officials, principal merchants and so forth, house and warehouse room is so scarce that I am not aware of more than one commodious house having been vacant during the whole year, and for that a very high rent, judged by local standards, was paid. Most of the house property in this quarter belongs to the Moorish Government, which, with a liberality for which they are seldom given credit, allow a tenant to sublet Government property at rates enormously in advance of the original rent. The original rent of a medium sized 'Government' house, strongly built, and containing perhaps ten lofty and fairly spacious rooms, with stores on the ground-floor, runs from £30 to £50 per annum. To live outside the town walls is unsafe and impracticable. It is hoped that His Majesty the Sultan may ere long decide to build an extension of the new Ḳaṣbah.

"Supposing the newly-arrived settler to have overcome the house difficulty, and not to be deterred by the laborious task of mastering sufficient Arabic and Shillhah to treat direct with his Arab and Berber customers, he is met by an alarming confusion of weights, measures, and coinage. On dutying his goods

1856. treaty put an end to all that, except in the case of absolutely prohibited imports or exports, permission to traffic in some of which—as in narcotics or grain—has been occasionally granted to the highest bidder. The habit of taking presents in exchange for empty promises will always be one of the strong points of the wazeers and other office-holders. Like bones strewed around the den of some monster, a record of those who have failed in the hunt for monopolies or concessions would be the salvation of many, for, notwithstanding defeat, they still come. In all these chaotic States one knows the concession-monger, for whether Asia or Africa claims him, his style is the same, and too often his fate. Arriving with brave show of wealth, he is not at first glance to be distinguished from

at the custom-house he finds that the 'quintal' in use there is a hybrid standard of comparatively recent invention—so far at least as Southern Morocco is concerned—being equal indeed to the English cwt., but divided into 100 lbs., instead of 112. As the ordinary small quintal of commerce equals 119 lbs. avoirdupois, and the 100 lb. quintal is strictly confined to the custom-house calculations, he is not surprised to learn that the duty itself is reckoned on a scale of 40 purely mythical 'silver ounces' to the dollar, whereas in the market—generally speaking—that much depreciated coin is exchanged for 125 very solid and very debased bronze ounces. On grain the duty is charged in Spanish vellon, and its bulk is estimated by fanega. Again, should he desire to sell tea, of which the importation, exclusively in English hands, is a considerable item, he must fix his price on a totally different scale of non-existent silver ounces, at the rate of 32½ to the dollar.

"To turn from sales to purchases, he finds that of such produce as can be bought in town, almonds are sold by quintal of 119 lbs. avoirdupois, oil and beeswax per quintal of half as much again, wool, if in small quantities, by a 'pound' in weight equal to nearly 4lbs. avoirdupois, and sandarac by camel load, supposed to weigh 310 small Moorish pounds.

"On extending his operations to the country markets, where much of the produce buying is done nowadays, he discovers that one tribe sells oil by measure, another by weight, the measures differing according to locality as much as the weights; that in one district the lb. weighs 32 dollars, in another 30 dollars, in another 36 dollars, and so on. In grain measure the same absence of uniformity exists. In Mogador the measure holds, at present, some 23 lbs. of new beans; in Saffi grain is sold by a khararôba of about three times that quantity; and various markets much nearer Mogador have standards differing still more widely."

the tourist, but his generosity soon gains him parasites, and presently a patronising tone becomes apparent, which reveals the man. His little ring of interested flatterers inflame his hopes, confirming him in self-conceit, till presently he starts for Court with a posse of hangers-on and plenty of presents. There arrived, his woes begin, for he soon perceives that there is not a man in the official class who cares a jot about his country or its welfare, and that all each can do is to pass him on "for a consideration" to the next above. Feasts he will have, if free with his gifts, or if the fame of his wealth has out-run him. Genial, polished and picturesque Moors will wait upon him and bid him welcome, dandies and patriarchs vying with one another to prove their attachment, one eager, the other supremely sedate, promising everything. But hope long deferred, and marked coolness when the fires of affection cease to be fed by gifts, overcome the stoutest, and most return vowing that there never could be a land with people more degraded than those of Morocco.

Attempted Settlements.

Closely akin to the would-be concessionnaires are the adventurers who have from time to time attempted in vain to settle on the coast of Sûs or beyond, in spite of the Shareefian Government and all its threats.* As all but one have failed, their stories would be here out of place, and only that one need be touched upon. It was the venture of the North-West Africa Company, which bought from certain local chiefs a piece of reef at Tarfaïa, which they called Cape Juby, and a site on the adjoining mainland which they called Port Victoria. Notwithstanding the tenuity of the Shareefian authority in those parts, by which alone this was rendered possible, the settlement was looked upon by the Moors as a menace which, if permitted, might

1880.

* For details of these see *The Land of the Moors*, chapter xx.

be imitated elsewhere. Affairs being further complicated
1888. by a massacre of several of the European and other settlers by some of the neighbouring natives, negotiations with the British Government for its abandonment dragged on for some years, till the trade having proved disappointing, the adventurers agreed to sell out. By the intervention of the British Minister, the price of
1895. £50,000 was obtained, in return for which the place was not only abandoned, but the sovereignty of the sultan was acknowledged to the Drâa and Cape Bojador, the Moors agreeing never to part with any portion of that district without the concurrence of England. Tarfaïa was to be thrown open as a port at the regular customs tariff, but stores and boats were not to be provided by the Government till it so desired. Merchants wishing to settle there are to have land allotted to them on free building lease for twenty years, but there is no provision for renewal.[1]

Location of Europeans.

Very few Europeans are as yet established in the interior of Morocco, and they only for a few years past; the majority reside in the open sea-ports of Tetuan, Tangier, Laraiche, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Saffi and Mogador, to give them in their geographical order from east to west. The order in importance of trade is Tangier, mainly importation; Mogador, the mart of Sûs, exporting principally oil and gums; Dár el Baïḍa (Casablanca), with a general wool and grain trade; Saffi, the principal wool port; Mazagan, exporting chiefly grains; Rabat, most noted for its native manufactures; Laraiche, where goods are often landed for Fez, whence also oranges and small seeds are furnished; and Tetuan, which does little more than a local trade. Up country, Europeans are almost exclusively represented by native agents or brokers—of whom the

[1] The memorandum is given in HERTSLET'S *Collection*.

larger proportion are Jews—enjoying foreign protection from native abuses. There is very little trade with the Spanish possessions, although it has been permitted with
1866. Melilla by a special convention.

From what has been recorded in an earlier chapter on the state of this country, it will astonish no one to hear that notwithstanding all their prejudices and their bigotry, the Moors are ready enough to avail themselves of the protection which is accorded by treaty to all foreign employees and business agents. To obtain it they pay highly for appointments which carry protection with them, so that instead of the foreigner paying his agents and native employees who are not his actual servants, there is a strong temptation before him to take money from them, and to get the work done as he can, the titular factor or place-man often defraying the cost of a substitute. In several notorious cases high foreign diplomatic officials have appointed secretaries who could not write, interpreters who only spoke their native tongue, and clerks who knew nothing of figures, but all of whom had the qualification of wealth, with a portion of which they were willing to part to secure the remainder.*

The Protection System.

It is easy for an outsider to condemn this system, but it is too much to expect a hard-working man, who has to choose between two applicants equally competent—one of whom requires pay while the other offers a premium—to select the former merely because he has no ulterior end to serve.† And it is harder still to find a reason for so doing when the would-be *protégé* has been the victim of gross injustice, and perhaps

Objections.

* Details of the flagrant case of a U.S. consul will be found in *The Times of Morocco* of 1889, especially December 14.

† Abundant instances of the use and abuse of this system are to be found in the pages of *The Times of Morocco*.

IN SEARCH OF PROTECTION

dare not return to his home till shielded by a foreign flag. The well-proven stories of woe which such men too often bring would alone be sufficient to justify any possible intervention from the philanthropist. Perhaps I should go further, and say—as I can with extra weight as having myself refused to grant any protections whatever, for money or not, except to one faithful servant whose life would hardly be safe without it—that there are few ways in which Europeans can better serve the Moors than by distributing protection right and left, to the utmost of their treaty rights, on the best terms they can make: always, however, provided that foreign officials as such be excepted, and that a

foreigner who, having sold "protection," fails to protect, shall be liable to trial for obtaining money on false pretences, or at least for breach of contract.

A Remedy for Abuse.

For consular and diplomatic officials to take money for protections should be made a high misdemeanour, tantamount to taking a bribe. This would of course mean raising many salaries, since in many cases the inducement to accept the duty of a vice-consulship for no more than an office allowance is the power of affording remunerative protection which the office confers, which is so great that these appointments are keenly sought after. Were such regulations introduced and enforced by a convention of the Powers, with or without the consent of Morocco, almost all the abuses of this protection system would disappear, and the Moorish Government would be brought face to face with a growing problem, the increase of which would compel it to institute much-needed reforms. So long as any of the European nations condemn the system, because it, like every other good thing, is abused, and hold out hopes to the sultan's advisers that it may be either reformed or abolished in course of time, so long will its *raison d'être*—wholesale misgovernment—continue. Let the European nations protect every Moor and Jew they can, upholding them through thick and thin till the Moorish Government yields and protects them itself. Let the Moors be clearly given to understand that the only solution of the protection question is the removal of the demand for it, and that so long as it drives its subjects to seek protection, this shall be afforded them.*

As no European could make a living by wholesale trade in Morocco, were the right of protection withdrawn,

* For opinions on the protection system as it exists, expressed by various foreign representatives, see *The Times of Morocco*, June 9, 16, and 23, July 7, and December 8, 15, and 29, 1888.

Maintenance Essential.

and few could get servants or keep them, such a proposal as the abolition of this valuable right cannot be entertained for a moment. By its means alone have our merchants been able to do business with the Moors, and to live in peace in this country; nothing has done more to raise European prestige from the abyss of tribute and slavery days to its present position, than this protection of natives. Beginning when piracy flourished, and when Christian slaves were sold by auction in Moorish streets, granted only to encourage a trade which could not exist without it, this right is now the pivot of foreign influence in Morocco. Abandon it, suffer it to be abused both in deed and word, or simply fail to enforce it, and the fight for the existence of the European settlers will daily grow more bitter, as trade decreases and prospects darken. Regulate it, enforce it, maintain it at every hazard, and in it Europe has a lever which can do more than anything else towards the opening up of the country.

As matters stand, apart from official protection, granted to all employed in official service by foreign officials—which should be open to no increase—there are two sorts in the hands of laymen. Full protection—that is, practically, transfer to the jurisdiction of a foreign government—is granted only to two brokers, or semsárs, of each wholesale or foreign merchant in each business centre. Partial protection—which secures only that the holder, or mukhalat, may not be arrested, or his goods seized, without notifying the nearest consular agent of the protecting Power, who has a right to assist at the trial—is granted to agricultural partners, servants, and others entrusted with the interests of any Europeans anywhere. Each of these has its market value, which is regulated by the local influence and character of the protector. Those who are known

Varieties of Protection.

to stand by their men, and to have the ear of their own officials, command long prices; but unfortunately, even among such, there are those who are not above taking money also from a hostile kaid or other official, as a bribe to abandon their *protégés*—a despicable Moorish custom known as "selling" the victim. Though this is more often perpetrated by the penniless fortune-hunters who live on the sale of protections alone, it lies at the door of not a few foreign officials, and wherever it could be proved it ought to meet with heavy punishment.

From time to time efforts have been made to regulate the protection system, either by a single Power, or as at the Madrid Convention, by the agreement of all concerned, but hitherto these have only defined the rights that existed, always ignoring the disgraceful traffic referred to.* The time has surely come for united consideration of this most important phase, and its recognition as an unavoidable practice, so long as the inducement remains. This is what wants regulation now, and the sooner the better. If it is complained that the Moors are by protection relieved of their taxes, this only refers to part of what they are supposed to contribute towards governmental protection which they do not receive. They cannot escape from justice by this means without the intentional connivance of European officials, since no one awaiting trial can be protected;† nor can anyone in Moorish official employ. On the other hand the great expense of maintaining a more highly paid consular staff

1880. *Regulation Required.*

* In consequence of the acknowledged failure of this convention to meet the requirements of the system, Spain proposed another conference in 1887, but on a change of ministry the project was abandoned. In the following year Sir W. Kirby Green proposed mixed native tribunals as an alternative for the protection of any natives but those officially employed, and this idea has been supported by many. It is excellent in theory, but offers serious dangers in practice.

† See chapter xi., p. 228, note.

would be more than met by fees and charges arising out of the work to be done, while commerce and foreign interests in Morocco generally would be greatly advanced. Altogether the possibilities latent in this protection system have yet to be put to the test.

Existing Regulations.

Foreign representatives may select their own employees, the protection of whom is limited to an interpreter, a guard (makházni), two servants, and if necessary a native secretary (ṭáleb). Native consular agents are allowed a protected guard only, but they and their families are protected. Such protection extends only to the wife and minor branches of the family under the *protégé's* roof, and the right is not hereditary except in the case of one family—the Benchimols—as stipulated by France in the Treaty of 1863, and a few others who have since been included by other nations under the "most favoured nation" clause, but who must not exceed twelve in number for each nation. This privilege is reserved as a reward for special political services.

Native factors, brokers and other business agents of foreign merchants importing or exporting wholesale in their own name or on commission are also fully protected, and these form the most numerous class, two such semsárs being allowed in each town to each merchant. *Protégés* are furnished with certificates in the language of the employer and in Arabic, which state the nature of the services rendered. These certificates are issued only by the legations in Tangier, and are renewable yearly.*

Natives so protected are, like foreigners, exempt from conscription and all taxes and imposts whatever, except—if cultivators or owners of cultivated land—an agricultural tax, and—if owners of beasts of burden—a gate-tax, the "nature, method, date," etc. of the former, and the amount

* For specimens see *The Times of Morocco*, December 14, 1889.

of the latter being arranged with the Government by the Diplomatic Body.* An annual statement of property, together with the proportionate tax, is presented to the consul of the nation to which the subject or *protégé* belongs; and if a false statement be made, double the deficiency of tax caused thereby is payable on the first occasion, and four times on the second.

Private Employees.

The servants, farmers, or other native employees of foreigners or *protégés* are not protected, but notice must be given by the native authorities through their master's consul of any charge brought against them, though they may be arrested for murder, wounding, or violation of domicile, when the consul must immediately be informed.† Suits commenced by or against a native before his receiving or losing protection are not interfered with thereby, but end in the court in which they were begun.

When protection is granted to any Moorish subject the local native authorities have to be notified by the consular official granting it, who must also present an annual list of *protégés* in his district. A list is likewise sent every year by each Minister to the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Tangier, of all *protégés* under his jurisdiction.‡ Unofficial or officious protection is illegal. Moorish subjects who have obtained foreign naturalisation on returning to Morocco may only remain here the length

* See HERTSLET'S *Collection*, 1881.

† In 1892 Sir C. Euan-Smith presented a draft scheme to the sultan, the principle of which was that the protection to be afforded to Moorish subjects employed by British subjects in their private or business affairs should consist in their trial only by the governor of the town in which the employer resided, in conjunction with the nearest British official, the employer having the right to be present; such *protégé* to be exempt from no lawful taxes, or from furnishing a substitute for military service.

‡ The number of Moorish subjects enjoying British protection was reported by Sir C. Euan-Smith as under one hundred. ("Corresp.," Despatch No. 34.)

of time which has been required to obtain that naturalisation, unless willing to abandon it and return to their former allegiance.

Such is a brief statement of the system of protection as it exists, or rather as it is supposed to exist, in Morocco. Both the system and its abuses can be abolished in one way, and one way only; that is by the reformation of the Moorish Government. Till this is effected Moorish officials may continue to complain, but to no purpose: they must themselves remove the cause. Let His Shareefian Majesty awake to the actual state of things, and determine to reform his administration in all its branches, and the need for foreign protection will cease. But this is more easily said than done. It will be answered that the sultan has not power to do so; that he would endanger his throne, if not his life, by any step in favour of reform; that he is surrounded by counsellors who are obstructionists, and who would oppose any measure of the sort; that the religion of the country holds it in thrall; and that last, but not least, the people do not wish reform, and will not have it.

The only Remedy.

No doubt there is some truth at the bottom of these statements, but there is also much fallacy. Mulai 'Abd el 'Azîz may not have the power to make sweeping reforms, but he has the power to imitate the nations he sees prospering elsewhere, by surrounding himself with enlightened advisers; by employing the talent and skill of other nationalities as he has done in some measure in the case of his army; by encouraging his people to work and trade, that they may afford to pay taxes wherewith to remunerate his soldiers and kaids, that these may no longer require to rob. Let him do his best by adopting such an enlightened policy, exercising it where he can, and a change for the better will soon come over this dark land. That the

The Sultan's Duty.

people do not desire reform can only be said of those who do not know what reform is. What they want is not protection *from* their rulers by foreigners, but *by* their own rulers. When this is obtained there will be no need for foreign protection, and then, but not till then, will the protection system die a natural death.

CHAPTER THE TWENTIETH

THE FATE OF THE EMPIRE

FOR this concluding chapter there remains a task more difficult than the description either of the rise or fall of that decrepit Power which now, by courtesy alone, retains the name of "the Moorish Empire." Some may expect a fore-cast of the future, an attempt to award the coveted prize, but such is not the present writer's intention, which has been to—

Historians no Prophets.

> "Write the deeds, and with unfeverish hand
> Weigh in nice scales the motives of the great."

The historian records experiences of the past to guide in present action, and provides foundations on which others, more ambitious, may build prophecy. His study is that of natural forces, racial tendencies, and outside influences, as exhibited in scenes gone by. His contribution to the fore-cast of the future is a close acquaintance with the hidden structure of the fabrics we call nations, for the principles of history are, after all, those of histology. The sciences are one, with varied application.

To trace the threads of the existing Moorish fabric back into the staple of the past; to notice the converging gossamers which, in due time united, formed the weft and warp* of the nation; to observe the

The National Fabric.

* "The *warp* consists of the threads of yarn which extend generally, but not always, in parallel lines, from end to end, the whole length of the web. The *weft* yarn crosses and intersects the warp at right angles, and fills up the breadth of the web."

strengthening strands of racial tendencies, extended on the loom of the Moroccan hills and plains; to mark the interlacing of those strands, as to and fro the shuttle plied — of outside influences, foreign interests, and the desire for mutual protection;—to remark with admiration how each tender filament—so fine as sometimes to be imperceptible without the aid of science—went to form the pattern which the great Creator had designed: all this was full of interest; the very labour of the task repaid itself.

A Travesty of Empire.

But standing at the point which the shuttle has reached, regarding the finished work of to-day, the view is not pleasing. No satisfactory product is here, with forces making for prosperity and happiness, with hope in future possibilities. The warp is still disorganised and disarranged, although a thousand years have passed since its first threads were stretched upon the beams of central government. Full many broken threads remain, and tangled patches unattached to the imperial framework, which is in itself deficient in rigidity, because no part of it is sound. Progress in the weaving is regarded with suspicion, and the introduction of the foreign weft meets ever with opposition. The result is failure, misery, oppression, and a ghastly travesty of empire.

Adjoining Countries.

In the adjoining countries the weft has usurped the place of the warp. The stronger thread is now that which the shuttle brings from abroad, and whether the native ground-work suffer or gain, whether the people will or no, the effect is changed. No longer does their future depend upon native movements, but upon foreign interests. No national problems have in them survived the independent rulers of the Middle Ages. The separate existences of Tlemçen, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli and Egypt are now memories only, and the

destinies of the Barbary States are, with one exception, directed entirely from Europe.

Morocco also Dependent on Europe.

In Morocco, notwithstanding actual independence, the present state of affairs has induced a condition practically analogous. The fate of the Moorish Empire depends on the fate of Europe as truly as if it were reduced already to a provincial level. It is true that foreign influences have not penetrated deeply here, and that the strands of western thought and interference in the land of the Moors have been uncertain and intermittent, but the factors which control its future are to be sought outside this country, not in it. So long as Morocco is left alone its people will murmur and seethe, but they will neither destroy themselves nor willingly submit to others.

Excuses for Interference.

For interference from those eager to interfere they may afford excuse, but not a reasonable ground. If the dissolution of this travesty of empire is awaited—the dissolution which might confidently be expected in a western state in such plight — it will be awaited in vain. The pages of their history have shown how many periods the Moors have passed through in which absolute anarchy replaced government, until not even the semblance of empire remained; but in the fulness of time the national genius re-asserted itself, and a new order was established, firm as before. To judge from the reports which periodically flood the press of Europe, it might be supposed on each occasion that the Empire's doom had been sealed by its own corruption, and that, like a ripe fruit, it was about to fall into the hand of the neighbour most alert to receive it.

No greater mistake could be made. According to native ideas Morocco is, but for the absence of a really blood-thirsty sultan who should make his subjects and all the world tremble, in a really prosperous

Moorish Satisfaction.

and fortunate condition. Its only plague-spot is the presence of the ever multiplying Nazarenes. What appears to uninitiated Europeans the disorder of despair is here the natural state of things, which has always prevailed. The Moors look on the memories of bygone inter-tribal feuds and their results as calmly and complacently as our historians regard the "War of the Spanish Succession," or the Napoleonic struggles. The recital of the deeds which in these pages have excited the indignation and horror of western readers, would excite in the Moors no surprise or disgust. Only a dreamer could imagine a Utopian Morocco without constant rebellion, as only a dreamer could imagine a Utopian Europe, undisturbed by international rivalries leading to war.

Native Ideals.

The present Government is better than the Moors have had for long past, and they have no higher ideal, since it is a purely native government, the outcome of the native character. Absolutely devoid of education—for the smattering of knowledge which the most learned acquire is not education,—their sole ambition is the easy gratification of natural passions, and their sole distraction is fighting. As soon as a good season brings in wealth to a tribe, the men buy horses and guns, and seek an early opportunity to use them. Only the prohibition of arms of all sorts, which would require a much more highly organised police than at present exists, together with efficient protection for property, could bring about an improved ideal and an improved condition. These granted, the people could be encouraged to build permanent villages, and would become amenable to elevating influences. It is easy enough for us to see that law and order should be thus introduced, that justice should be secured to the poorest, that the revenue should be collected by impartial and effectual machinery. But how is this to be brought about?

ARMED COUNTRYMAN

The rough and knotted home-spun of the Moors possesses a certain picturesqueness which is even attractive, fascinating to some — when not worn next the skin,—and capable though it be of improvement,

Native Ways Preferred.

it is certainly better adapted to the conditions of life in Morocco than anything we could supply. Nothing we may have to offer them from Manchester or Lyons, Barcelona or Breslau, howsoever fine and gay, would give them equal pleasure for their daily wear, notwithstanding their appreciation of our sweets and arms as luxuries. Any effort to impose our chilly cottons on a wool-clad people must end in failure, and can only aggravate the trouble. It is not in London or Paris, Madrid or Berlin, that the cure for the diseases of the Moorish Empire may be found.

Yet there are several European Powers both able and willing to extinguish the Moorish Empire, if their neighbours will but permit them to do so, and they are only too anxious for a chance to supplant its slow, unsatisfactory finger-and-thumb work by machinery of western invention.

Ambition of France.

France especially would dearly love to see accomplished that dream of an African empire in which some of her politicians indulge, in spite of the financial burden which the glory of Algeria has been to her. This is a dream which, though not shared by everyone, has to be reckoned with in all negotiations which concern French influence in northern Africa. The creation of this dream is to stretch from ocean to ocean, a rival and a counterpoise to British India, and it is the obstacle presented to it by the British occupation of Egypt which has been the cause of so much soreness. The wise decision which has been reached in defining the British and French spheres of influence strengthens the position of France with regard to Morocco, and from her point of view she has a very good case for stepping in when the time comes, as she will if her hands are then free, and those of others tied.

Englishmen, knowing and caring little about Morocco, are quite incapable of understanding the grip on this land

A Vantage Ground.

that France has secured. Separated from it merely by an unprotected frontier, well-defined only on paper—so that a "much-needed rectification" can be demanded at any moment—her Algerian province affords a base already furnished at two points with rail from the ports of O'ran and Algiers. From Lalla Maghnîa and Oojda, the frontier towns, there runs a valley-route which places Fez at her mercy, with Táza mid-way to fortify for keeping the mountaineers in check. At any convenient time the forays in which tribes on both sides constantly indulge can be fomented or exaggerated, as in the case of Tunis, to afford excuse for a similar occupation. Fez captured, and the ports bombarded or awed by gun-boats, Mequinez would speedily fall, and a battalion landed at Mazagan would make short work of Marrákesh.

Ease of Conquest.

All this could be accomplished with a minimum of loss, as only lowlands lie between those points, and the mountaineers have no army. But the "pacification of the Berbers" would be a lingering task, involving sacrifice of life and money out of all proportion to possible advantageous results. It was so in Algeria, and it would be much more so in Morocco, where the Berbers are more independent, and have never been subdued by the Turks as in the sister country. Against a European army that of the sultan is not to be feared, as only those troops drilled by European officers would give much trouble, and the organisation would soon be demoralised. The tribal skirmishers, of whom the half would fall before the others yielded to the Nazarenes, would be the real difficulty. It is probable that meanwhile Tangier and the surrounding district would be occupied by other Powers, if not by England alone, as a guarantee for the security of foreign interests, and to preserve the highway of the Straits.

The "military mission" which the French maintain at the sultan's expense, which follows and supports him where

French Methods.

no other Europeans can go, spies out the land and trains the leaders for a future invasion. Their Algerian Mohammedan agents pass and re-pass where foreigners find it impossible to venture, and besides collecting topographical and other information, they let slip no opportunity of recommending the advantages and privileges of French rule. The immunity which they —as subjects of a friendly Power—enjoy from the tyrannical exactions of the Moorish officials, is in itself the strongest possible recommendation. In this way France is steadily working, and who can forbid her? In case it should become advisable to set up a dummy "protected" sultan, they have an able and influential man at hand in the representative of the Idreesi shareefs, Mulai 'Ali, the young Shareef of Wazzán.*

The Wazzán Shareef.

The English having refused protection for his father, he already enjoys that of the French, who have educated him and his younger brother, Mulai Ahmad, and have made them officers in their Algerian army. Mulai 'Ali has inherited qualities from his English mother such as no pure Moor possesses, and his heart and mind are filled with ideas of justice and progress. Nor is his character one of which it would be easy to make a tool, and while no such change is at present to be contemplated, it is satisfactory to know what might be—the Moors, as has already been pointed out, no longer controlling the destinies of their own country.

English Indifference.

In her unquestioned ambition the strong point of France is that she has no rival to fear, and that she can, therefore, afford to wait till the opportune moment arrives when, the hands of those who might protest being tied, she may strike a successful blow. So as matters stand it is only a question of time for Morocco to be added to Algeria. But while we, as a

* See Genealogical Table of the Morocco Shareefs.

SECRETARY OF STATE RETURNING FROM THE PALACE

nation, are unable to appreciate the French determination to possess Morocco, and content ourselves by believing "it cannot be," they fail to comprehend our calm indifference,* and by their manifestations of suspicion they betray their own methods.† Protestant missionaries in Algeria, of whatever nationality, are looked upon as emissaries of the British Government, and nothing will persuade the French that British powder and Manchester samples are not to be found among their books for distribution at their meetings and sewing classes. In consequence the missionaries are continually harassed and maligned, and periodically told they will have to go, while tourists out of the regular beat are watched with equal suspicion.‡

The Interests of England.

What designs on Algeria they imagine that we entertain it is impossible to conceive, and as for Morocco, neither Germany nor England would accept it as a gift, however sturdily they may compete for its commerce, although it is certain that they would object to its acquisition by France. If any partition did come about, all that England would require

* "England, which ceases not to tremble for Gibraltar, does not fear to play the part of anti-civiliser, and carefully maintains the shareefian government in its ideas."[1]

† "Thus it is gravely noted that on the 3rd December last two British cruisers were observed off Isser taking soundings and indulging in gun practice so near the shore that the inhabitants were attracted by the spectacle. Again, it is alleged that in the South, and in Kabylia particularly, British officers systematically intrude themselves under pretext of touring, but in reality, by mixing themselves among the natives, to imbue them with an anti-French spirit. At El Kantara a party of tourists are said to have had themselves ostentatiously photographed, with the British flag unfurled above them! The Algerian Press has also resumed the outcry against the 'machinations' of British missionaries, who may probably have to suffer further annoyance before the scare subsides."[2]

‡ I myself was twice arrested on suspicion, once in Tlemçen, once in Lalla Maghnîa, when travelling in Moorish dress, and it was with some little difficulty that I persuaded "*les juges d'instruction*" as to my peaceful interests.

[1] ERCKMANN, p. 299. [2] *Al-moghreb Al-aksa*, March 25th, 1899.

consists in the neck of land which abuts on the Straits of Gibraltar, and but for this *sine quâ non* France might have it all, as far as England cares. Germany would like a foot-hold, it is true, and has vainly endeavoured to secure the proverbial "coaling station," but that is only to obtain a fulcrum for settling with France.

The Claims of Spain.

Spain, of course, means to have Morocco, as of birthright, in retaliation for the Moorish rule in the Peninsula. She talks about it, writes about it, dreams about it: but Spain is not to be reckoned with unless as an ally of France, which would, by polite concession, secure at least her neutrality, entering only "*Con permiso de Usted.*" * The day has also passed when Portugal could have a voice in the question, and Italy, notwithstanding a brave show, can play no more important part than that of make-weight. Austria, Scandinavia and Russia, although represented "at the Moorish Court," are not to be considered any more than the Monroe-disregarding United States. Thus with much vain babbling the balance of power is maintained, as in a parallelogram of forces. France alone is successfully spinning the yarn for the future weft, and tying political meshes wherewith to secure the spoil.

The Moorish Position.

All this is well understood by the Moors, who are not so ill-informed as some fondly imagine. The training of ages in fomenting local feuds for the advantage of the central government—administration by dissension—has enabled them to play off Power against Power with complete success. Individual envoys come and go, with grand ideas of progress and reform, and many make great efforts to attain these ends, but all are disappointed, chiefly through the covert opposition of those who have failed before them. It must nevertheless be acknowledged that so strongly has the folly of this

* By permission of Your Grace.

been felt, especially in recent years, that serious attempts have been made to pull together. But what can single men, with the best of intentions, avail against the prejudices and greed of public opinion at home, the loud-mouthed, irresponsible yelping of a Press which plays on the nation's weak points?

The Failure of Europe.

We have seen how hopeless is even the strongest opinion in favour of disinterested philanthropic action, when opposed by the grasping heathenism mis-called patriotism: we have seen how persecutions and atrocities have been committed with impunity by one of the Powers, because each desired personal gain from proposed united action; we have seen how the requirements of natural growth and expansion have been foiled and obstructed by selfishness on the part of those who help themselves unhesitatingly; and we have seen from our carping, suspicious reception of the noblest proposal ever made by a great ruler to his fellow rulers, that with our mighty armaments, our vested interests in war, and the supply of war material, we of Europe are, as nations, just as truly heirs of Ishmaël's curse as are the wandering Arabs; we have learned that as nations our much-boasted civilisation has raised us little above the diplomatic status of the Berber tribes of the Atlas.

Possible Political Regeneration.

Not till Europe—thinking, feeling, philanthropic, Christian Europe—is aroused to the point of establishing international organisations for the preservation of peace and the arbitrament of disputes, supported by an overwhelming public opinion; not till then can the Moorish Empire, or any other unfortunate country, hope for effective reform from without. Nothing less than a general renunciation of all right to individual interference on any pretext in the affairs of Morocco, and a common agreement collectively to require

the reforms so much needed, will ever accomplish the political regeneration of the Moorish Empire. In face of such a united demand, with offers of support if needed, no refusal could be expected, and provided that too much were not asked at once, and capable advisers were found, these reforms might be as peacefully carried out as under the English in Egypt. But will Europe make this possible?

Photograph by Dr. Rudduck Governor
COUNTRY GOVERNOR AND SUITE

All Revolutions Religious.

And is there, it will also be asked, no good thing in Morocco? Can there be no re-creation of the forces which have in the past affected its course? There is a possibility of good in Morocco; there is a hope among the Moors themselves, but not from the old-time forces. Observe what those forces were, how they worked, and what they achieved, and no one will desire their revival. No combined action or revolution can be expected in the Moorish Empire without a religious leader. Each successive dynasty which has restored the

Empire has arisen from a movement having more or less the character of a religious reformation, and it will ever be so in the future. Purely political problems cannot stir a nation which has no political life, no popular rights, no share in the government, no love of progress. Another Moorish mahdi is the only possible leader, and we have in our own days, in the eastern Ṣûdán, an illustration of what such an apparition means, what the appearance of a successful mahdi has always meant. No friend of the Moors could wish for such a revolution.

Mohammedan Empires Parasitic.

One fact, far too little recognised in the consideration of Mohammedan nations, is that Islám is not only unprogressive, but that all apparent progress under its sway is being made in spite of it, not by its help. Under Arab leadership or tuition no corporate nation was ever nurtured. Mohammedan empires have flourished and flickered, but not Mohammedan nations. The dynasties of Islám which have secured the greatest renown have done so only while they preyed upon the vitals of a subject people. When the tree died down so did the parasitic growth, and then sometimes, as in Spain, the bursting forth of new shoots from the victimised trunk meant the death of the parasite. There would be no magnificent traces to-day of Moorish rule in the Peninsula had the invaders not found a people there to subdue. For this reason there has never been an Empire of Arabia, and the greatest deeds of the Arabs have been done when they were furthest from home. Islám has never sought the welfare of the people.

Spiritual Forces.

Nor are purely moral reformations known to Islám, for its great religious movements have been based upon the letter of the law, its ceremonial observances, and except as a result of contact with deeper beliefs, as in the East with those of India and Persia, spiritual life has been unknown to its members. Yet

spiritual forces are at work in Morocco among the Moors, those self-same spiritual forces which, as a righteous leaven, raised our nation from a state of barbarism, and continue to raise it—by inspiring good men and true, disinterested patriots, to serve their day and generation, and succeeding days and generations, rather than themselves or their political surroundings,—the forces which have taught some few, at least, to live for others.

Individual Responsibility.

It is the popular custom of travellers to disparage missionaries, a task as easy as to disparage the tiny worm which bores and buries itself, and in a lifetime severs less of the tree-trunk than a day's growth adds, but it is a work that tells, and at last the tree falls. Let their work be difficult, their faith a mockery to those who share it not, their object hopeless, their achievements insignificant, or, it may be, illusory; their faults apparent, their methods absurd: the missionaries, of whatever creed, are the noble few who live for the future, and no seed that they sow is lost. Every pure and earnest life lived, whether by a missionary or by any other, is a strand of the weft which will strengthen the warp and tell on the nation. Every foreigner who visits or resides in Morocco has a responsibility towards the Moors—a mission from GOD, if he fears his GOD—a life to live and a truth to proclaim in dealing with the natives, and on every one such, man or woman, hangs to some extent the fate of the Moorish Empire.

Part III.

MOROCCAN LITERATURE

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IN introducing this division of my subject there devolves upon me a sorrowful task.

It had been my intention to dedicate this volume to the friend whose generous encouragement, invaluable counsel, and genial assistance—not to speak of his own labours in the same field—have been so largely instrumental in enabling me to undertake so great a task: the late

DR. ROBERT BROWN.

But death has deprived me of all that such friendship meant, and now I have to couple with his name that of his collaborator in the Bibliography, whose verdict on my work I was anticipating with the greatest interest: the late

SIR LAMBERT PLAYFAIR.

To the memory of these two students of North Africa I therefore dedicate these notes upon Moroccan Literature.

At the same time I would take occasion to acknowledge my indebtedness to those who have so kindly placed their libraries at my disposal. Foremost among such was Dr. Brown, whose unique collection of some four hundred and fifty volumes dealing with Morocco passed at his death to the Royal Geographical Society, which has since permitted me free access to them. I have also to thank Colonel F. A. Mathews and Mr. Herbert White, of Tangier, for the use of their collections; and a debt of gratitude is due to many friends on the Morocco coast for trusting me with volumes often difficult to obtain in those parts.*

In the task of finally revising the whole of this work I have received invaluable assistance, but my gifted and generous friend prefers to be nameless.

B. M.

"Silvermere," Prince's Park,
Liverpool., *March*, 1899.

* *Since the above was in the press this other friend has passed away, and all who knew him mourn.*

Part III.

MOROCCAN LITERATURE

Scarcity of Modern English Works of Importance.

SEVERAL years have passed since anything of real value or of genuine research, about Morocco, has been published in our language, and the English student who would without the aid of foreign works glean a more than superficial knowledge of the Moors and their land, must go back to the days of Jackson, early in this century, or those of Pellow and his compeers, enslaved by pirates early in the last. The number of publications on Morocco which then saw the light is still more remarkable in view of the restricted activity of the Press in those days, as compared with the present time. No sooner did a brochure in modest guise appear from some curious sign in the Strand, and become the talk of the coffee-houses—its title a good first chapter, and its contents the narrative of real or fictitious sufferings at the hands of the Moors (whom the very victims confounded with Turks and Saracens or Syrians)—than a translation appeared at the Hague, or Paris, or Amsterdam. Those were days when all Europe feared the Moor, when England and Holland and France and Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden and Venice, Tuscany, Austria, the two Sardinias and Genoa, all made their peace with that dread unknown by the payment of tribute. Now it is the Moor who stands in awe of Europe, only retaining his country because each

foreign Power prevents the other from filching it from him. Then, it was anxiety to shield themselves from his attacks that made Europeans read about him; now, it is a hankering to get a foothold in this Naboth's vineyard.

Literature of the Rover Period.

To the piratical period, strange to say, we are indebted for some of the most valuable works upon this country. Among the captives carried to Europe towards the close of the fifteenth century was a Moorish lad, who in Rome became a Christian, and was there baptised by the name of Johannes Leo Africanus. As a man it was his lot to revisit his native country, and to compile the most complete description of it that has ever appeared. A couple of hundred years later, a youth who had had the advantages of education at the "Latin School" at Penrhyn, was carried captive by the rovers of Salli, and having accepted Islám, became an officer in the Moorish army, married a Moorish wife, and resided in Morocco for twenty-three years. This narrative of Thomas Pellow gives a more complete idea of Moorish life and character than any one of the two hundred volumes on the subject which the present writer has studied and here reviews, although allowance must be made for heightened colouring, especially where cruelties inflicted on the Europeans are described. How much soever of what is told of the brutality of the sultans of that epoch may be apocryphal—and much is confirmed by independent authors—it is fortunate that a mighty change has come over Morocco since then, and that for the better. The difference in this respect between the Ismâïl of Pellow's days and the 'Abd el 'Azîz of to-day is as great as between our Mary the First and Victoria.

French and Spanish writers realise more fully than those of other nations all that lies behind the word

Predominance of French and Spanish Writers.

Morocco, and during the present century they have produced the most important works. Not that those countries by any means lack their share of superficial writers, but the interests presented to them by Morocco are more real, and its problems more important than they seem to Englishmen, and so receive more serious consideration. To them the Moors are neighbours, despised indeed, but not strangers; to us they are strangers altogether, their country a far-off land. The age in which the Danes and Dutchmen took a lively interest in matters Moorish is long past, but it is signalised by much of real worth. The volume by the Danish consul Höst was considered by such an authority as Dr. Robert Brown to be the most exhaustive and accurate description of Morocco in existence. Höst's successor, the botanist Schusboe, left a hardly less important contribution on his special subject. It is nevertheless instructive to notice how few of the consuls and ministers who have represented England in this country have bequeathed their observations to posterity. The death of Sir John Drummond Hay, without completing the volume of reminiscences on which he was understood to be engaged for the last few years of his life, has been a distinct loss to the literature of Morocco.

The "Golden Age."

It is another noteworthy fact that three of the most important general works on Morocco were by contemporaries, Jackson, Chenier and Höst. To these names might be added those of the travellers, Lemprière, "Ali Bey" and James, and of the scientists, Dombay, Schusboe and Buffa, all of whom wrote upon the border of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Morocco must have been an interesting place of residence in those days. From that time nothing serious was contributed till Renou compiled, at second hand, his geographical description of the Empire, the work of

Gråberg having been altogether over-rated. Godard's inaccurate volumes may stand with these, and though Urquhart, Richardson and Rohlfs had travelled in the country, neither gave it careful study. Modern reliable works commence with the journey of Hooker and Ball, the archæological researches of Tissot, the studies of De Cuevas and the explorations of De Foucauld and Thomson.

But recent years have seen a distinct revival of interest in the study of Morocco, and besides Rohlfs and Hooker, a number of those who have done good work are still living, from whom more may be expected. Among these may be mentioned Messrs. Martinière, Walter B. Harris, De Cuevas, and Johnston, resident still in the country, and others who have passed from its scenes, it would appear for ever. Such are Messrs. De Foucauld, Payton, Cowan, Trotter, Colville, Spence-Watson, Ovilo, and probably Erckmann and Lenz. The charm of things Moorish may work on them yet, for having eaten once of the lotus, who can say its subtle spell shall never reassert itself?

Living Authorities.

The following list is intended to serve two ends. In the first place it affords particulars of every work on Morocco which has been digested in the compilation of this volume and its two companions. This will enable those who follow up the subject to ascertain at once where they may break fresh ground. Comparison with the *Bibliography of Morocco* will reveal how great a mass of material still remains to be investigated. But all the most important available sources have here been laid under contribution, and the affairs of Morocco will have to assume a very different position in the eyes of the world to warrant further extensive research.

Object of Reviews.

The second purpose of this list is to afford an estimate of the relative values of the authorities consulted, measured

from one standpoint throughout, and to enable future students, not only to find what they seek, but also to gauge the weight of their respective authors, a point of no small importance. In order to save space, only the briefest possible titles are here given, since no student of Morocco can be without its *Bibliography* as reference for further details.

The Mass of Material.

It may be well to place on record the fact that none of the works included in this list contain any statements, *both reliable and of importance*, which have not found a place in one or other of the author's volumes on Morocco. The need for this assertion is impressed upon him by the astonishing number of inaccurate, if not altogether ungrounded, statements, too often among the most interesting, which he has perforce eliminated from his notes. So, although multitudinous errors must needs exist in his own production, notwithstanding the most careful study and revision, it is hoped that his critics will refrain from attempting to complete his story by additions from sources already drained.

"ALI BEY" (See page 452)

Frontispiece to his *Travels in Morocco*

I.

WORKS ON MOROCCO REVIEWED*

BIBLIOGRAPHY of Morocco. *London*, 1892.

A Bibliography of Morocco . . . to the end of 1891, by Lieut.-Col. Sir Lambert Playfair, K.C.M.G., and Dr. Robert Brown, M.A., F.L.S. (Supplementary papers of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iii., part 3, and published separately by Murray.†)

In defiance of alphabetical order, this work must head the list, as an invaluable contribution to Moroccan literature, replete, minute, and accurate beyond the ordinary run of bibliographies; enriched with summaries and criticisms, mostly from the facile pen of Dr. Brown, an indefatigable student of this country. Without it the writer's works on Morocco would have been deprived of much of their most important material, which would have been overlooked but for the *Bibliography*. On this work the following brief reviews can in no way encroach, for the proportion which remains untouched is appalling, but the writer has selected from it everything that promised valuable information, and the opinions here expressed deal with all the volumes that he has been able to examine.

* Pseudonyms are distinguished from real names by inclosure in inverted commas.

Brackets indicate anonymous works, the authorship of which has been ascertained from other sources.

The editions specified are those referred to in the reviewer's own works.

† I bequeath the copy of this work presented to me by Sir Lambert Playfair, with my emendations and additions, to the Royal Geographical Society, requesting that it may be kept with Dr. Brown's collection.—B. M.

"The next author on the empire of Mulai el Hasan, who thinks it necessary to justify the existence of his work," write the compilers of this Bibliography, "will require to face the fact that, exclusive of manuscript records, of which a prodigious quantity are stored in the archives of every country having relations with Morocco, there are enumerated in the Bibliography to which these lines form the introduction, the titles of over 2000 contributions to its history, geography, and politics, for the most part printed, which we have thought worthy of being recorded."

LEO AFRICANUS. *Roma*, 1526. *Della Descrizione dell' Affrica*, by Giovanni Leo (El Ḥaṣan bin Mohammed el Wazzázi), edited by G. B. Ramusio (Secretary of the Venetian Council of Ten), 1550, and many intermediate dates to 1837, references being to this last.

Here we have *the* book on Moroccan geography and ethnography. Though written so long ago, it was written well, and is so accurate that the present writer has been able to follow Leo step by step, and has been astounded at the confirmation received from natives of remote and almost inaccessible districts on points of trival detail as to local products and customs, which has deepened admiration for so competent and painstaking a writer. From this source the majority of writers on Morocco have, at first or tenth hand, drawn their information about many parts. As a rule they have done so entirely without acknowledgment, and by degrees have introduced strange errors, often describing things which had long ceased to exist. Of this Marmol, Gråberg, Calderon and Richardson may be cited as flagrant examples.

The Hakluyt Edition. London, 1896. *The History and Description of Africa*, translated by John Pory in 1600, and edited by Dr. Robert Brown. London, Hakluyt Society.

The large number of editions and translations of Leo's great work sufficiently testifiy to the esteem in which it has

always been held. No less than fourteen of the principal editions are separately dealt with in the Bibliography, and a goodly proportion of these are to be found in Dr. Brown's collection. The notes by Dr. Brown in the Hakluyt edition —the only fault of which is that it was not a revised translation, instead of a reprint*—are a perfect store-house of information about Morocco, constructed with masterly skill. The original Arabic MS. has long been lost, the last trace being in 1600. Its author was a Moor of Granáda, who had studied and served in Fez, besides travelling much in North Africa. Having been captured by European corsairs, he found his way to Rome, where he was converted to Christianity, and was baptised by Leo X., whose name he received.

Abd el Wáhhîd See *El Marrákeshi*.

Adams (Robert). See COCK, and *Fiction*, p. 531.

Addison (Lancelot). *Oxford*, 1671.

West Barbary.

A little volume by the father of the celebrated essayist, "Chaplain to His Majesty in Ordinary" at Tangier during the English occupation. The greater portion is devoted to "a brief narration of the late revolution in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco," into which it enters somewhat minutely. The most interesting part relates to the British garrison, and it is a pity that the author did not write after the evacuation, which would have enabled him to complete an excellent picture. The second portion describes the Moorish Empire, its agricultural methods, its inhabitants and their customs, well worth reading by those unacquainted with Moham-

* Especially as Pory's careless transliteration of Ramusio's Italian rendering of native names is preserved, which is often misleading and unnecessarily confusing. The editor's death, too, left many points unrevised and unelaborated. A French edition by Schefer appeared last year.

medan institutions. An index of the Moorish words employed, with their equivalents in Arabic type, is a feature of interest in a work of its date. Tangier is spelled "Tanger," as in French, German and Spanish, a more correct form than in English, the Arabic original being Ṭanjah.

Agrell (Olof). *Stockholm*, 1796.

Bref om Maroco.

A carefully written series of letters, extending over the eventful years from September, 1789, to October, 1791, when the blood-thirsty El Yazeed courted the extinction of the Moorish Empire. The author was Swedish Secretary in Tangier, and made good use of his opportunities, leaving us a valuable contemporary picture of the period. A German translation has also been published.

Alby (Ernest). See *Fiction*, p. 530.

"ALI BEY." *London*, 1816.

Travels in Morocco (Translation, 2 vols.).

The true name of this venturesome traveller was General Domingo Badia y Leblich.[1] Sufficiently acquainted with the language and the customs of the Moors to deceive all, even the learned and the sultan Sulaïmán himself; passing as a Muslim by birth, he is yet said to have been betrayed eventually, either by his corns,[2] or by the use of his left hand in washing.[3] In reality he was a Spaniard, sent amply provided with funds, as a spy on political errands. Being also a scientist, he was able to collect much valuable information in Morocco, which renders his first volume a standard work. With due allowance for conceit, his observations may be accepted with faith. His second volume deals chiefly with other countries that he visited.

[1] GODARD, p. 578. [2] URQUHART, vol. i., p. 302. [3] ROHLFS.

"St. Amant." *Lyons*, 1696. *Voyage de M. le Baron St. Amant*, "par un officier de Marine."

A brief description of St. Amant's embassy to Mulai Ismâïl, when camped in Sûs. It contains no information of value.

Amicis (Edmondo de). *London*, 1882. *Morocco: its People and Places* (translated from the Italian by C. Rollin-Tilton).

A full and entertaining account by a well-known author and newspaper correspondent of the visit of an embassy from Rome to Fez in 1878. It is profusely illustrated with wood-cuts, many of them so untrue to their originals that, whatever their artistic merit, doubt is thrown on those which cannot be compared with nature.* Lively and amusing in style, this volume, like too many others on Morocco, is by a writer ignorant of his subject till the moment at which his description begins. Many of the scenes are therefore overdrawn, and rare occurrences described as those of every-day life. Everything is treated with Italian "artistico-poetico" feeling, due admiration being expressed for Moorish costumes and customs, admirably adapted to the circumstances of their climate and mode of life. Taken as a whole, a fair idea of a tour in Morocco is here presented, but few of the statements made can be considered as authoritative, and the spelling of Moorish names, if comprehensible to an Italian, is not so to an Englishman, as the translator should have remembered.

Andrews (W. H. C.). *London*, 1884. *Southern Morocco.*

A refutation, in pamphlet form, of a charge of attempted smuggling brought against an English company, formed to open a port in Sûs, the plans

* The blocks have been extensively used to illustrate subsequent works and periodicals, as on pp. 223 and 415.

of which ended in failure through the opposition of the Moorish Government. An insight is afforded into Moorish and British diplomatic tactics. A useful map is appended.

Antoninus. See *Appendix I.*, p. 557.

"Armand" (Jean). *Paris*, 1632.

Voyages d'Afrique.

Although appearing under this name, it would seem that the compilation was that of another hand, and the second half is merely a digest of some parts of Leo. The first half gives an account of Razelli's expedition to Salli in 1629, and the signing of the treaty at Saffi in the following year. Its contribution to our knowledge of Morocco or its history is very slight indeed.

D'Angers (le Père François). *Niort*, 1644.

Histoire de la Mission des Pères Capucins . . . à Maroc, 1624–1636. (Reprinted in Rome, 1888.)

An account of Razelli's various missions to Morocco, and of the sufferings of the Capuchins who accompanied him and were held in slavery with most of his suite. Of historical interest only, but evidently trustworthy.

Augustin (Freiherr von). *Wien*, 1838.

Erinnerungen aus Marokko.

"Merely the classified observations collected on my journey," says the author—who accompanied the Austrian Mission to the Court in 1830, after the piratical outbreak of 1829—so great depth will not be looked for. "The sultan offered us his greeting," we read, "with the assurance that we were dearer to him than the light of his eyes, and that he could not have awaited us longer." The illustrations are most fanciful.

Baeumen (August von). *Berlin*, 1861.

Nach Marokko.

"Reminiscences of Travel and Fight," by a German who accompanied the Spanish army

in the war of 1859–60, valuable to specialists in military matters, but otherwise of no importance.

Ibn Batûta (Mohammed), *Cir.* 1355. *London*, 1829.

Rahlát Mohammed ibn Batûta el Maghribi—Travels of Mohammed, son of Batûta, the Moor. (English translation by the Rev. S. Lee, D.D.)

After a quarter of a century spent in travelling almost all over Asia,* Ibn Batûta returned to Tangier and spent three more years exploring his own country and Timbuctoo. But as the results of all this are compressed into one volume, Morocco receives slight notice, and we are indebted to the son of Batûta for very few facts.

Beauclerk (Captain G.). *London*, 1828.

A Journey to Morocco in 1826.

An entertaining narrative, replete with local colour and detail, and not deficient in humour, most quaintly illustrated from the pencil of the author, who accompanied an English doctor on a visit to the Court at Marrákesh. To those who already know the country it can hardly fail to afford much interest, although there is no pretence at accuracy or completeness. It well deserved the translations into German and Polish which subsequently appeared.

Bonelli (Capitan Emilio). *Madrid*, 1882.

El Imperio de Marruecos y su Constitution.

A well arranged and carefully written volume, full of detail, but also of errors, slight, perhaps, but sufficient to detract much from its value as a work of reference. It was written by a Spanish officer who served for some years in Morocco, with which his acquaintance, though comprehensive, was superficial.

* A useful *résumé* of Ibn Batûta's travels is to be found in the *Revue Géographique* of Paris, 1881, p. 273.

Bonsal (Stephen, Junior) *London*, 1892.

Morocco as it is.

To this title one might almost add the word "not," so full is it of errors and exaggerations, especially in the naming of the illustrations, correct in two or three instances only. The present reviewer figures among them as "A woman of Tetuan"—doubtless as a type of Moorish beauty! The book, full of absolute mis-statements, consists in the main of re-printed contributions to the *Daily Graphic* by an American journalist, whose sole ideal was effect.* Their principal subject is the embassy of Sir C. Euan-Smith to Fez in 1892.

Boyle (Robert). See *Fiction*, p. 259.

Braithwaite (Captain John). *London*, 1729.

History of the Revolutions in the Empire of Morocco upon the Death of . . . Muley Ishmael.

Braithwaite accompanied John Russel, the ambassador from George I. of England to Aḥmad V. (Dhahebi), the besotted successor of the fierce Ismâïl, for the purpose of ratifying and supplementing the treaty arranged by Stewart in 1721. He could not be expected to know much about Morocco, but what he either saw himself or learned on the spot he recounts with evident fidelity. His most important contribution deals with the negotiations at Court, and affords an insight into the way in which things were managed in those days. One is at first surprised to observe how much would equally well apply to-day, but on reflection it becomes a matter of greater surprise that a country recently in such a condition should have made the progress that it has. It is interesting to notice that Mr. Russel travelled to Fez from Tetuan by way of the Wád Wargha. The present town of Wazzán was not then founded, and he visited the

* For detailed reviews see *The Times of Morocco*, December 1, 1892, and January 5, 1893.

ancestor of the shareefs of that district at Ḥarash, where no Christian seems to have previously ventured.

Brisson (M. P. R. de). *Geneva*, 1789.

Histoire du Naufrage et de la Captivité de M. de Brisson. (English edition appended to *Saugnier's Travels*, 1792.)

Since this shipwreck occurred near the Senegal, and the captives were only brought to Marrákesh and Mogador, the account contains little concerning Morocco, but the concluding notice of its Arabs is of interest.

Brooke (Sir A. de C., Bart.). *London*, 1831.

Sketches in Spain and Morocco. (2 vols.)

One of the good old travel narratives of the more solid description, written at a time when the author found it a novelty to embark at the Tower Stairs on a vessel propelled by steam, had to cross the Straits to Tangier in a felucca, and did not dare to appear in Moorish streets with anything so regal as an umbrella, being only allowed on horse-back in the towns on sufferance. Unguarded Europeans were still liable to be made prisoners outside the walls, and the arrival of a steam-boat from Gibraltar set all Tangier in confusion. As a careful and observant traveller the author gives an interesting picture, but the notes appended are not to be relied on.

Boyde (Henry). See *Fiction*, p. 530.

Buffa (John) *London*, 1810.

Travels through the Empire of Morocco.

This brief narrative is eminently satisfactory as far as it goes, for Dr. Buffa chiefly describes what he saw with his own eyes, though occasionally falling into error when indulging in historical digressions. His travels were over the beaten tracks of Morocco, for the purpose of professionally attending the sultan and sundry

officials. So careful an observer might with profit have gone much more into details, but as his object was apparently no higher than to obtain another appointment, he has contributed little original matter.

Busnot
(le Père Dominique).
Rouen, 1714.

Histoire du Règne de Mulay Ismael, etc.

CONTEMPORARY IDEA OF MULAI ISMÂÏL
(From Dutch edition of St. Olon, etc.)

One of the most valuable contributions to our information regarding that terrible reign and the condition of the European slaves in Mequinez, whom the author, a Trinitarian Redemptionist, went on three occasions to release. As usual with trustworthy books on this country, it has been freely quarried by subsequent writers without acknowledgment, but its accuracy is attested by the records of contemporaries.

An English edition appeared in 1715.

Cabrera
(Capt. José Alvarez).
Madrid, 1893.

La Guerra en Africa.

A practical hand-book by a Spanish officer who had been chief of a military mission to the sultan, indicating the best methods for war with the Moors upon their own soil. It contains a minute description of the Moorish army, and, while it would be easy to point out inaccuracies, this compilation should prove really useful to those for whom it is intended, as the author was a careful observer. Its *raison d'être* was the struggle at the time of publication between the Spaniards and the tribes round Melilla.

Cahu (Théodore). *Paris*, 1882 (?)

Au Pays des Mauresques.

Quite a misleading title, as the subject of these sketches is Tunis, not the country of Moriscos at all!

Hall Caine. See *Fiction*, p. 526.

Calderon (Esteban). *Madrid*, 1844.

Manual del Oficial en Marruecos.

Without affording proof of much original research, being almost entirely compiled from a few of the earlier Spanish works on Morocco, this book fulfils its object in supplying the information most required by Spanish officials newly settled in this country. It frequently deals with questions topical at the time of its publication, which to-day are forgotten, and though not professing to be a complete description of Morocco, tells a good deal. From it Richardson appears to have obtained much of his information, but without acknowledgment, or else both authors borrowed from Gråberg, and he from Marmol and others, as Marmol did from Leo, for they all fall into identical errors.

Calderon (Pedro, de la Barca). See *Fiction*, p. 522.

Calle (Antonio). See *Fiction*, p. 523.

De Campou (Ludovic). *Paris*, 1886.

Un Empire qui Croule—Le Maroc Contemporain.

A commendable little work, composed of a series of entertainingly written sketches, giving a very fair idea of the state of Morocco, though containing slight information of importance, and few new facts. M. de Campou appears to have travelled extensively in this country, and to have enjoyed himself, but he spares us a repetition of the well-worn details of travel, and the nonsense heard by the way, while he adds to the value of his work by pithily

recording incidents of interest. In consequence he has fewer faults than the majority of writers on Morocco, but many of his remarks on the government, and his statistics, are quite untrustworthy. The point apparently most interesting to him was the diminution in the size of the rivers, about which he gives noteworthy particulars from personal observation.

Castellanos (Fr. Manuel Pablo). *Orihuela*, 1884.*

Descripción histórica de Marruecos.

This volume, by a Franciscan friar who spent some years in various towns of Morocco, provides a concise, though incomplete, historical description of the Moorish Empire. The author evidences much original research, and appends a series of useful bibliographical notes, which in a measure suggested the present reviews. His work is of value, and as far as it goes may be relied on. Much information is given from the writer's own experience, though he does not go out of his way to do so. It can be heartily commended to the general reader.

[Charant] (A.). *Paris*, 1670.

Lettre écritte en Reponse de diverses Questions curieuses sur les Parties de l'Affrique où règne aujourdhuy Mvley Arxid, Roy de Tafilete.

This author, who usually preferred to remain anonymous, had resided twenty-five years in the country, but appears to have known personally only Saffi and Marrákesh, his account of other parts being incomplete and faulty. The number of editions in which his little volume was reproduced, generally bound up with some less reliable work, is a proof of the interest felt in those days in Morocco, as well as of the way in which his answers were appreciated.

* A new edition has recently been published in Madrid.

"Charlewood" (John). *London*, 1579.

The Barbary News of the Battle there. A tract the subject of which is sufficiently explained by its title: "A dolorous discourse of a most terrible and bloody battle fought in Barbary the fourth day of August last past, 1578, wherein were slain two kings (but as most men say three), besides many other famous personages, with a great number of captains and other soldiers that were slain on both sides. Whereunto is also added a note of the names of divers that were taken prisoners at the same time. Imprinted at London by John Charlewood and Thomas Man."

Charmes (Gabriel). *Paris*, 1887.

Une Ambassade au Maroc. Originally published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nos. lxxv.–lxvii.

One of the regulation reports of foreign embassies to this country, but the production of a distinguished writer. It contributes more trustworthy statements than are usually found in works of this class, due, no doubt, to the intimate acquaintance of the envoy, M. Féraud, with Mohammedan ways. Such are the valuable details concerning the Court and its surroundings, besides information incidental to the journey. It goes without saying that, from a literary standpoint, *Une Ambassade au Maroc* is excellent, but that is not the present reviewer's position.

CHENIER (Louis-Sauveur de). *Paris*, 1787. *London*, 1788.

Recherches historiques sur les Maures. (3 vols., and an incomplete English translation in 2 vols.) *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco.*

A most valuable and instructive work by the French consul appointed to Mogador in 1767, whose brother, André Marie, became famous as a poet. The translation abridges the first two volumes, which contain "the ancient history of Mauretania, the Arabs under the khalîfas, and the conquest of Spain by the Mohammedans," practically

an unacknowledged translation of the *Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás*. The third volume forms an ample and interesting account of Morocco in Chenier's time, including an epitome of the relations of the Empire with Europe. Hardly anything of importance has been overlooked by the author in his description, and one cannot but be struck with the conservatism of a people whose manners and customs have altered so little for centuries.

Cock or **Coxe** (Samuel) *Boston*, 1817.

The Narrative of Robert Adams [*Benjamin Rose*] . . . . *wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa.*

The story of this shipwrecked sailor's journey to Timbuctoo, of which so much was made at the time, has since been shown to be fictitious (see Grâberg's verdict quoted in the *Bibliography*), but it may still be read with interest. This is especially the case with the notes and appendices, chiefly by Mr. Dupuis, of Mogador, although there is very little information about Morocco itself, in which Rose certainly did travel. The author of this narrative was secretary of the African Association in London. (See p. 531.)

Collins (Mabel). See *Fiction*, p. 525.

Colville (Capt. H. E.). *London*, 1880.

A Ride in Petticoats and Slippers.

In this volume is described a trip from Tangier, viâ Fez, to the Algerian frontier, which provides some pleasant reading, and at the same time deals with a part of the country little known. The author was rather inclined to over-estimate matters, the difficulties and the dangers of the way included, and some of his statements shake the reader's faith as to his accuracy. Possibly the companionship of a young wife rendered him nervous. His remarks about Gibraltar are important.

Conailhac (J. J. L.). See *Fiction*, p. 523.

Conde (José Antonio). *Madrid*, 1820–21. *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España.* (3 vols.)

Notwithstanding that, as the compilers of the *Bibliography* remark, the works of Conde have been superseded historically by those of Dozy (p. 469) and Gayangos (p. 490), these volumes still deservedly hold an important place. Conde laid the foundations for subsequent builders, of materials largely Arabic, including the Moorish history *Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás*, which he practically incorporated, so that the affairs of Morocco are prominent.

Conring (Col. Adolph von). *Madrid*, 1881. *Marruecos.* (From the German.)

This work is by an unsuccessful agent for the sale of German guns, who received so little aid from the Diplomatic Corps here that he gleaned all the gossip and scandal he could from his interpreter and others, and on his return to the "Fatherland" published it under the title of a description of "the country and people of Morocco."

Yet there is much of interest in this volume, for it partakes less of the character of the writer's journal, and gives more general information than most books on this Empire. Much of the gossip therein chronicled was only too true, and great efforts were made by one diplomatist after another to bring the author under the lash of the law, but without success. Had Von Conring remained longer in the country, and devoted himself before writing to sifting the statements he had gathered, his book would have been valuable, as his powers of observation were evidently great.

Cotte (Narcisse). *Paris*, 1860. *Le Maroc Contemporain.*

A volume less pretentious than its title, chiefly recollections of a former attaché of the

French Consulate General, supplemented by brief, interesting chapters on the people and their history, fairly correct on the whole.

Ro. C. [Cottington ?] *London*, 1609. *A true Historicall discourse of Muley Hamet's rising to the three kingdomes of Moruecos, Fes, and Sus,* to which is added *The Damnable Religion of the incredulous More or Barbarian.*

A quaint but succinct black letter pamphlet of no small value, dealing with the first seven years of the seventeenth century, including the embassy of Sir Anthony Sherley. (See p. 360.)

Cowan & Johnston (G. D.) (R. L. N.) *London*, 1883. *Moorish Lotos Leaves: Glimpses of Southern Morocco.*

The result of careful observation on the part of two men, strangers neither to the country nor its people, the half-dozen "papers" distributed over the "leaves" of these "glimpses" provide descriptions of life in Morocco, both reliable and interesting. Their subjects are: a round-about ride from Mogador to Marrákesh; boar shooting in Shîádhina; canoeing in Mogador Bay; notes on Agadîr and Massa; a march by moonlight with the army; and Moorish gastronomy. So entertainingly are they put together, that both the visitor and the old resident find enjoyment from cover to cover. Mr. Johnston is the author of several clever stories of Moorish life,* as well as of numerous sketches and skits contributed to *The Times of Morocco*, *Al-moghreb Al-aksa*, and other papers, some of them over the signature of "Madge Mortimer," most of which are worth preserving in a less fugitive form.

* One of these, *'Abd el Ḳarîm, the Soldier-Scribe*, was really the first book printed in Morocco, but the sheets, sent to London to be bound, were lost at the docks, so that it has never been independently published, and the only copy in existence is in its author's possession.

Crawford (J. V.). *Lymington*, 1889. *Morocco at a Glance.*

By reason of the author's slight personal acquaintance with the country, many errors are unavoidably mingled with the useful information in this little volume, otherwise well suited to the needs of tourists. But no "glance" can reasonably be expected to take note of everything worth seeing, or to present a picture correct in all details, and Mr. Crawford may be congratulated on the result of his reading, albeit confined to a small horizon.

Crawford & Allen. *London*, 1886. *Morocco.*

A report to the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, well-intentioned, but misleading, as its authors unsuspectingly became exponents of a Tangier party faction.

"Crouzenac" [Abbé de Beaumont] *Paris*, 1740. *Histoire de la dernière Revolution dans l'Empire Ottoman.*

The author accompanied a Turkish mission to Marrákesh on this occasion, but the details concerning Morocco are extremely meagre.

Da Cunha (Luiz Maria do Couto de Albuquerque). *Lisbon*, 1864. *Memorias para a Historia da Praça da Mazagão.*

A valuable and pains-taking record of the Portuguese occupation of Mazagan, published after the death of the author, who was a government official in the island of St. Thomas. The story of the early settlers in these foreign possessions is always full of interest, and there is something quite pathetic in the picture of their abandonment.

DE CUEVAS (Téodoro). *Madrid*, 1884 *Estudio General sobre el Bajalato de Larache.* (From the "Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica.")

Had other foreign residents in Morocco made

as conscientious a study of the districts in which they lived, as has Sr. de Cuevas in this valuable work, we should possess a fair knowledge of at least the coast provinces between Tetuan and Cape Ghîr. The author, who is in the Spanish consular service, gives full details as to the physical and political features of the Bashalic of Laraiche, with minute descriptions of each town and hamlet, hill and stream, together with notes on the local agricultural customs, studiously avoiding that generalisation which detracts so much from the value of most books on this country. The style is good, and never wearies one, and this, in combination with the thoroughness of research, would ensure a welcome for this work were it published in book form. An English translation exists in manuscript, and should also be in the hands of the public.

Curtis (James). *London*, 1803. *A Journal of Travels in Barbary.*

A neat little record of a doctor's experiences with an embassy to Fez, but bald and brief. The writer entered a saint's shrine near Tangier, and even opened the door of the lattice enclosing the venerated remains, before his servant could impress him with the rashness of his act. Some interesting notes on the gum trade of the Senegal are appended, taken without acknowledgment from Golberry's *Travels*.

Damberger. See *Fiction*, p. 531.

DAN (le Père Pierre). *Paris*, 2nd Ed., 1649. *Histoire de Barbarie et ses Corsaires.*

This work rises far above the average of its class, as the author, a Trinitarian Redemptionist, had half a century's experience of his subject, and has left a scholarly standard work on the rise and spread of piracy. The illustrations in the Dutch edition (Amsterdam, 1684) add special interest. Only a small section is devoted to

Morocco, but this is of considerable value, and as Père Dan had a personal knowledge of all the four Barbary States, the relative importance assigned by him to the Salli rovers may be accepted as correct. A useful collection of extracts from the earliest writers on Barbary is appended.

Davis (Lt.-Col. John). *London*, 1887.

History of the Second Queen's Royal Regiment. (Vol. I.)

There is no better acount than this of the British occupation of Tangier, for which this regiment, practically the oldest in our army, was raised. But it would have been greatly enhanced by revision on the spot with local and historical knowledge. The illustrations from the pictures at Windsor by Holler are valuable, and the information, collected chiefly from the driest official sources, has the great advantage of being reliable.

AN ENGLISH OFFICER OF THE TANGIER REGIMENT (17th Century)

Davis (Harding). See *Fiction*, p. 529.

Dawson (A. J.) See *Fiction*, p. 527.

Dekker (Jan). *Hoorn*, 1744 (?)

Beschryvinge . . . in zyn 28 Jaarige Slaverny in Barbaryen.

A brief account of the experiences of a Dutch slave, containing as usual more about his sufferings than about Morocco, although he got as far as Tafilált.

De la Mercy. See *Nolasque.*

D**(M. le Comte).** See p. 151 *Relation Historique*, and *Fiction*, p. 529.

Delphin (Prof. G.). *Paris & Oran*, 1889.

Fas, son Université el l'Enseignement Supérieur Musulman.

This brochure consists of the translation of a valuable Arabic description of the college system of Fez, from the pen of an old student—diffuse, as all native writings are, but the best we have—supplemented by extracts of little worth, drawn from all quarters.

Desmay (Louis). *Paris*, 1882.

Relation du Voyage des RR. PP. de la Mercy pour la redemption des Captifs Chretiens en 1681.

An unpretentious narrative, restricted entirely to the experiences of the Redemptionist Fathers, without any details concerning Morocco.

Didier (Charles). *Paris*, 1844.

Une Promenade au Maroc.

An interesting book, not badly written, but of little value, as the author's "promenade" extended but from Tangier to Tetuan and back. Yet by dint of borrowing freely and without discrimination or acknowledgment from previous writers, with some local gossip and information thrown in, he has produced a specimen above the average for generalisation, even of its class.

Diercks (Dr. Gustav). *Berlin*, 1894.

Marokko . . . . und der Marokko-Frage.

A handy compendium of information about this country and its people, one of those volumes whose compilers are never in doubt, but who must never be referred to as authorities. As its title implies, some attempt is also made to provide a solution for "the Morocco question," although the author does not appear to have been in a better position than others to judge.

Douls (Camille). *Rouen*, 1882.

Voyages dans le Sahara Occidental et le Sud Marocain. (Also in the "Boletin de la Société normande de Géographie.")

A pamphlet by a rash young adventurer who, like Davidson, risked his life in a plunge among the truly barbarous people of an unknown land. Here he details his experiences after having been intentionally cast ashore near the Canaries. He professed Islám, and made his way to Marrákesh, where he was rescued and returned to civilisation. While attempting a similar expedition to Tafilált in 1889 he was treacherously murdered, or probably a much more valuable treatise would have been produced ere this.

DOZY (R.P.A.). *Leyden*, 1861.

Histoire des Mussulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la Conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides, 711–1110. (4 vols.)

A most valuable production, the outcome of immense original research and the careful collation of Arabic MSS., "which supersedes all other works on the same subject, and, it may be added, renders all others superfluous." Unfortunately it is very diffuse, and often, after the Arab manner, goes at great length into immaterial occurrences. For lack, also, of proper headings, subdivisions, and tables of contents, its utility is seriously impaired. The author, who was Arabic professor at Leyden, published the important Arabic texts of El Marrákeshi, Ibn Adhári, and Arîb, with a later volume of corrections, and, in collaboration with De Goeje, the text and a translation of El Idreesi (Edrisi).

Dryden. See Fiction, p. 520.

Fernandez Duro (Capitan Césario). *Madrid*, 1878.

Exploración de una Parte de la Costa Noruoste de Africa, en Busca de Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña. (In vols. iv. and v. of the "Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica.")

Sr. Fernandez Duro, captain of the vessel sent by Spain in search of her vanished possession, not only exercised to the utmost his powers of observation and inquiry on the spot, but went most thoroughly into the literature of the subject, making subsequently a most valuable contribution to Moroccan bibliography. His report, discussion and appendices are therefore of peculiar value, and may be regarded as the best existing authority on this question and others connected with it. Several papers on matters of kindred interest were contributed by him to Spanish scientific publications.

Durrien (Xavier). *London*, 1854. *The Present State of Morocco.*

An interesting little pamphlet, thick-sown with inaccuracies, notwithstanding the writer's two trips "down the coast," although the translator is probably responsible for the errors in spelling, the system of which is Spanish.

De la Faye, etc. (Père Jean). *Paris*, 1726. *Relation du voiage pour la redemption des captifs . . . pendant les années 1723–1725.*

Valuable, like most of its class, for details of such missions, but containing fewer horrors, and no more about the country or people, than usual. On this occasion the good fathers appear to have been more deceived than ever by designing Moors and by the renegade Pillet.

Abu'l Fida (Ismâîl) *cir.* 1320. *Dhikr Bilád el Maghrib—Account of the Land of the Sunset.*

Alger, 1839. (French translation, by Ch. Solvet.)

Paris, 1848. (Ditto, of the whole geography, by M. Reinaud.)

Still less thorough than Idreesi, whom he often quotes, Abu'l Fîda has added little to our knowledge of Morocco.

He was a Syrian prince who, from many sources, compiled an extensive work on geography, of which this forms but one section, chap. iii.

Finck (Henry T.). *London*, 1891

Spain and Morocco.

In these unpretentious "studies in local color" are collected the impressions of an American who candidly asks in his preface, "Is a tourist justified in writing a book on two vast countries . . . after a flying visit of barely two months?" and proves that he is so when "his aim is merely an attempt to transfer to the pages of a book an impression of some of the most striking examples of local color he came across." A chapter apiece on Tangier and Tetuan is all that concerns Morocco in this case.

DE FOUCAULD (Vicomte Charles). *Paris*, 1888.

Reconnaissance au Maroc.

(A large quarto volume of well-illustrated text, and an atlas containing twenty-one sketch-maps of the Atlas.)

It is a positive pleasure to handle these magnificent volumes, which record the most important and remarkable journey in Morocco which a European has accomplished for a century or more. Viscount de Foucauld's route lay for the most part over ground before unknown to geographers, but now by him revealed in his excellent series of maps, views, and tables, evidence in themselves of the magnitude of his undertaking. No modern traveller in this country has approached him in respect of either accuracy or equipment by training for exploration. His careful bird's-eye views and sketches, with the necessary indications as to apparent heights, and the directions of distant summits, for which the details must have been collected at great personal inconvenience, and even risk, have rendered his journey invaluable from a geographical

point of view, while the letterpress is an inestimable record of facts. It is a treat to come across a real traveller, who knew what he was about, so different from the holiday-makers who have burdened the public with the results of their pretended explorations in Morocco. Beside what De Foucauld achieved, almost every attempt to reach the parts he reached has been mere child's-play. Those knowing little of Moroccan geography may judge of M. de Foucauld's courage and perseverance from the fact that in each case in which the words are italicised in the following brief outline—which by no means does him justice—he accomplished a feat.

Travelling in the guise of a native Jew, he started from Tangier, visiting *Shesháwan*, El Ḳaṣar, Fez, *Táza*, Sefrû, Mequinez, *the Zemmûr Shilḥ*, *Tádla*, *Bûjâad*, Damnát, *Jebel Gláwi*, *crossing the Atlas to Tisint*, *and the Wád Drâa*, *thence passing right through Sûs to Agadîr*, and in about six months reached Mogador. After a couple of months' rest there, he retraced his steps to Agadîr, striking *across Sûs to Tisint* by a new route, *over the Atlas* once more, and *along its southern slopes* till he *recrossed them again* at about the latitude of Fez, arriving at Oojda and the French frontier.

The journey along the south of the Atlas alone was a mighty enterprise, rivalling those of which one hears so much from the more fashionable parts of Africa. It is understood that M. de Foucauld has rendered equal services in Algeria, and it would have been impossible for a novice to obtain such results. He naturally had to face all manner of hardships and difficulties, of which space will not permit mention. Every student of Morocco will regret that such a brilliant explorer should have since immured himself as a Trappist.

"A de France." See *Fiction*, p. 530.

San Francisco (Fray Matias). *Cadiz*, 1675.

Relacion del Viage Espiritual que hizo à Marruecos el V. Padre Fr. Juan de Prado.

This rare volume affords an interesting insight into the experiences and ideas of the Franciscan missionaries, their determination, their religious zeal, and their credulity. To escape the vigilance of an unsympathetic governor they were obliged to flee by night from Mazagan to Azammûr, and in Marrákesh their lot appears to have been unusually hard, even for the time and place. The principal facts are recapitulated by De el Puerto.

Fréjus (Roland). *Paris*, 1670.

Relation d'un Voyage fait en 1666 aux Royaumes de Maroc et de Fez, to which is added a *Relation Curieuse.*

The first of these brochures contains absolutely nothing of value, being the bare recital of a fruitless journey from Alhucemas to Tázá and back, undertaken to induce Mulai er-Rasheed to make trading concessions. The envoy of commerce chiefly notes what he had to eat. The second is extremely brief and unimportant.

Frisch (R. J.). *Paris*, 1895.

Le Maroc: Geographie, organisation, politique.

A carefully written political work, the object of which is to urge French claims on Morocco, and to expose those of "l'insatiable Albion," which haunt its author like a nightmare. It is a book which all politicians interested in this country should read, even if they do not find in it much that is new. It is not the work of a complete outsider, for M. Frisch was for some ten years an officer of the "Bureau arabe" on the Mauro-Algerian frontier, and made good use of his many opportunities of ascertaining the truth, excepting as to the plots of "those English."

Galindo (Leon, y de Vera). *Madrid*, 1884.

Historia, Vicisitudes y Politica Tradicional de España, respecto de sus Posesiones en las Costas de Africa.

The writer of a pretentious volume of this nature, who informs his readers that the task occupied him only three months, can hardly be called to account for inaccuracy in details. It is not surprising that his references are meagre, but he has produced a useful, if prolix, work, which the Spanish Royal Academy of History thought worthy of a medal. As its name implies, it deals with much more than Morocco, but contains few facts hitherto unpublished.

Ganniers (Arthur de). *Paris*, 1894.

Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui, d'hier et de demain.

A useful and fairly accurate compilation; practically a political study, the author's expressed aim being to see Morocco added to Algeria. It consists of a brief glance at the country itself, without any attempt to describe the people, and a *résumé* of the relations in the past between Morocco and the present Powers of Europe. Special interest attaches to the outlines of the wars of this century, but the account of recent English negotiations is hopelessly meagre. Most of the illustrations are borrowed from the volume by Montbard.

Gatell (Joaquin). *Madrid*, 1879.

Viages por Marruecos, el Sus, Wad Nun y Tekna. (Appended to the "Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica.")

The writer of this valuable brochure, full of first-hand statements, entered the sultan's service in 1861 as an artillery officer in search of adventure. Having deserted when leave was refused, he wandered for some years through the provinces he describes under the assumed name of Kaid Ismâïl. In 1894 he was sent back by Spain on a secret mission. His published report is enriched by maps and plans of great value, but much

of the information collected is still confined to the MS. archives of the Spanish "Ministerio de Estado."

Gayangos. See *El Makkári*, p. 490.

Gerrare (Wirt). See *Fiction*, p. 528.

Göbel (E). *Leipzig*, 1887.

Die Westküste Africas im Altertum, und Die Geschichte Mauretaniens.

A most useful and scholarly compendium of all existing early records of this country, opening with careful notes on the various writers, and concluding with an account of the Mauretanian kings. In brevity combined with abundance of accurate detail, it is not to be surpassed. It is only a pamphlet reproduction of an inaugural dissertation at the Leipzig University.

Godard (Abbé Léon). *Paris*, 1860.

Description et Histoire du Maroc. (2 vols.)

Much useful information concerning Morocco is here presented, and if the author has no great record for local research, he has certainly laid a large number of writers under contribution, and has added to the value of his work by acknowledging his indebtedness with "chapter and verse." The most valuable portion deals with the history of Christianity in Morocco, and on the whole this ranks as one of the best books on the country. But the Abbé is sadly prejudiced, and so far suffers from Anglophobia as to give credence to, and twice repeat, the statement that "Mr. Drummond Hay, English consul at Tangier, is at the same time Protestant missionary and agent of the Bible Societies." *

Gråberg di Hemsö (Jacopo). *Genoa*, 1834.

I. *Specchio . . . dell' Imperio di Marocco.*

Gråberg's work has long enjoyed a reputation based on real merits, but by most these have been

* "But," adds the reverend Abbé (p. 117), "we do not think that he has for assistant the Jewish-Protestant colporteur." Further on he remarks, "England is represented by Mr. John Henry Drummond Hay, Knight of the Civil Order of the Bath, and minister of the Holy Gospel."

over-estimated. Many errors are to be discovered which could now be easily avoided since the country has been so much opened up by Europeans. His *Specchio* has been extensively plagiarised, indirectly as well as directly, though seldom with recognition. He has himself dealt more fairly with the work of others, especially with Jackson's, from which he makes many quotations, but from Leo Africanus he has copied blindly and freely—perhaps indirectly—without acknowledgment. It is chiefly from this source that Gråberg's notions of Moroccan geography were borrowed, as is evident from his ridiculous exaggeration of the importance of many places which had long since dwindled into hamlets or entirely disappeared. The author, who represented Sweden and Sardinia in Morocco, had a fair acquaintance with Arabic, but knew little of the country beyond Tangier.

Lyon, 1820. II. *Précis de la Littérature historique du Mogh'rib el Acsa.*

A most valuable contribution to the bibliography of Morocco, criticising briefly from local knowledge twenty-four of the chief works then existing on the subject. It was subsequently incorporated in the *Specchio*.

Graham (A. B. Cunninghame). *London*, 1898. *Mogreb-el-acksa, a Journey in Morocco.*

Gloriously picturesque, inaccurate and unconventional, but eminently readable. Criticism is disarmed by the prefatory declaration that the genial author has "tried to write after the fashion that men speak over the fire at night, their pipes alight, their hands on their rifles, boots turned towards the blaze, ears strained to catch the rustle of a leaf, and with the tin tea mug stopped on its journey to the mouth when horses snort." In this he has succeeded, though his "modest book of travels" is not to be quoted. Yet surely persistent

scoffing at what so many of his readers hold sacred hardly becomes a writer who informed his Moorish host that he was "a member of the U.P. Church, and was as orthodox a Christian as he was a Mohammedan" (p. 190); one fears that his fellow members must consider some expressions in this work both blasphemous and indecent.

Hanno. See *Appendix*, p. 544.

Hardman (Frederick). *London*, 1860. *The Spanish Campaign in Morocco.*

Letters from the *Times* correspondent reprinted; valuable as a careful description of the campaign, but quite devoid of information about the country, of which the author knew nothing.

Harris (Walter B.). *London*, 1889. I. *The Land of an African Sultan.*

The author's maiden effort, principally narratives of his earlier journeys in Morocco — most of them reprinted from periodicals—bright and full of interest, but seldom contributing new information, and not always sufficiently accurate to be quoted as authoritative. The remarks on the Christian missions, for instance, betray lamentable ignorance of the subject, and the book has many of the faults of hurried journalism.

(Reviewed in *The Times of Morocco*, May 24th, 1890.)

London, 1895. II. *Tafilet.*

This record of a plucky journey from Marrákesh to Tafilált, undertaken in the guise of a poor Arab, and accomplished partly on donkey-back, partly on foot, is full of valuable information with regard to a hitherto unexplored route. At the time of the journey Mulai el Ḥasan was in Tafilált, and the circumstances which attended the death of the late sultan are especially well described. Mr. Harris now knows enough of the country

to avoid the ordinary tourist blunders, and has here presented an important work; his illustrations are very good.

Hay (J. H. Drummond). *London*, 1861.

I. *Western Barbary: its Wild Tribes and Savage Animals.* (Second Edition.)

A most disappointing book, but well and entertainingly written, somewhat in the style of *The Bible in Spain.* It is far from what might have been expected from such an authority under such a title, for it is the work, not of the mature diplomatist, but of the youth of half a century earlier. At the same time it is superior to most books of travel, as a story told by no novice in the ways of Morocco, and this account of a journey but little beyond Laraiche gives, with far greater exactness, almost as much information as the average report of the traveller who has "done" half the Empire.* So trustworthy and reliable are the notes and comments on Moorish life, that it cannot fail to be a matter of regret that their author did not at a later period produce a standard work on the country he knew so well.

Cambridge, 1848.

II. *Journal of an Expedition to the Court of Morocco.*

As this brochure was never published, it is hardly fair to criticise its inaccuracies, for it was but a rough journal reprinted for personal friends. Nevertheless, it contains good stories and much diplomatic wisdom. "With Moors and Chinese," truly remarks the author, "you must be kind, but very firm, or the end would be great guns." Herein lay the secret of his success in dealing with our neighbours here.

* The journey was undertaken in 1837 to obtain blood horses for the young Queen, but was unsuccessful. The account has appeared in several forms, including French and German.

Hay & Brooks. *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay.*
London, 1896.

So much of the life of this able diplomatist, who for many years represented Great Britain in Tangier, was passed in Morocco, and so close was his contact with its affairs, that the record prepared by his daughters ranks among the important volumes on the Moorish Empire. It not only affords a valuable insight into local politics and character, but it contains a number of original reflections from the diaries and letters of a keen and careful student, while it is free from those blunders and generalities common to volumes compiled by strangers.

Hecatæus. See *Appendix*, p. 543.

Herodotus. See *Appendix*, p. 541.

Hind-Smith (William Wilson). *A Boy's Rambles, Falls and Mishaps in Morocco.*
London, 1886.

Since this unpretentious little volume is all that it professes to be—the record of a boy's visit to Fez and Mequinez—it ranks well above those multifarious volumes which, while pretending to give a "full and particular account" of this country and its people, consist mainly of a padding of inaccuracies.

Hodgkin (Dr. Thomas). *Narrative of a Journey to Morocco.*
London, 1866.

Unlike most so-called "works" on Morocco, this is just what it pretends to be. It is the story of the philanthropic mission to Marrákesh undertaken by Sir Moses Montefiore on behalf of his persecuted brethren, unaffectedly narrated by his Christian medical attendant. Few remarks on the condition of the country are included, beyond the author's own observations—mainly geological—but there are various appendices of interest. It was published by subscription as a souvenir of the subject of which it treats, and of its author, who died soon after his return.

Hooker (Joseph D.), **Ball** (John), and **Maw** (George). *London*, 1879.

Marocco and the Great Atlas.

To the scientist, especially the botanist and the geologist, this volume is of real value. It describes an expedition of scientific explorers who accomplished most of their objects, and were content to record it without extraneous matter or hearsay. They were thus enabled to produce a work which deserves all praise; its appendices particularly are of great worth, forming in some cases monographs on subjects previously little known, such as the geology and economic plants of Morocco. Its authors were dauntless Englishmen, influentially supported, and as they did not propose to describe the people, their ignorance of Arabic was not so prejudicial as in the case of others. The explanation of their errand to the Berbers was that their Queen had a big garden (at Kew) which she desired to stock with every kind of plant which might possess medicinal virtue.

Horowitz (Victor I.). *Leipzig*, 1887.

Marokko.

According to the title-page, "The most essential and interesting [facts] about land and people," by a secretary to the German Legation at Tangier, but of the usual superficial and incomplete nature. Thus the entire section on Moroccan insects reads: "That insects also are certainly not wanting in a southern land is self-evident; particularly there are numerous bees, which furnish honey and wax in abundance." Well, we live and learn!

HÖST (Georg.). *Kiöbenhavn*, 1779 & 1781 *respectively*.

Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes; or *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes.*

The author of this standard work was for many years Danish consul at Tangier, and spared no pains in arriving at facts. His notes on the habits and customs of the people are unsurpassed, and, among much

(Frontispiece to his *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes*, 1779)

other valuable information, that about their instruments of music is unique, the illustrations adding greatly to its value. Directly or indirectly, every subsequent writer on the country has been indebted to the conscientious Höst, and those who have least benefited by his labours have had least good fortune.

Idreesi (Edrisi) (Mohammed). (*cir.* 1150). *Leyden*, 1866.

Sîfat El Maghrib wa Arḍ eṣ-Ṣûdân, wa Maṣr, wa el Andalûs—Description of the West, the Land of the Blacks, of Egypt and Spain. (French translation by Dozy and De Goeje.)

Brief geographical notices of northern Morocco are included in this valuable work, but few facts are to be gleaned thereform beyond the condition or non-existence of certain towns in the time of the writer, a native of Ceuta who was employed by King Roger of Sicily to collate and edit the information he had collected. On this account Idreesi's work is also known as "The Book of Roger."

JACKSON (James Grey). *London*, 1809.

An account of the Empire of Morocco and of Timbuctoo.

The latest standard work in English on the Moorish Empire, an invaluable description by a merchant who had spent many years at Mogador and Agadîr. The natural and artificial products of Morocco are ably dealt with, as well as the physical features then known, but the account of its inhabitants is not so full as might have been expected. The author's object was to supplement the scantiness of information of which he complained as characteristic of the volumes on Morocco even then abundant. Yet he falls into some curious errors, among them that of confounding the Nile with the Niger, the source of the former being described as in West Africa. The account of Timbuctoo is especially interesting, as so little was known of that part at the time, and the informa-

tion was gathered from natives, possibly also from Pellow, who is often confirmed, if not actually copied. The difficult question of Arabic transliteration is entered into, but Jackson failed to suggest the system of which he saw the need.

JAMES GREY JACKSON
(Frontispiece to his *Account of the Empire of Morocco*, 1809.)

James (Lt.-Col. Thomas). *London*, 1771.

History of the Herculæan Straits. (2 vols.)

These ponderous tomes were written by an English officer at Gibraltar, and while dealing with both sides of the straits, give a large share of attention to the northern part of Morocco. No new facts of importance are given, the work partaking rather

of the nature of a guide-book, with a *résumé* of the chief points of interest.

Jannasch (Dr. R.). *Berlin*, 1887.

Die Deutsche Handelsexpedition 1886.

An account of an attempt made by the Germans to open up Sûs. The author was in command of the expedition undertaken in the *Gottorp*, and as a writer on commercial subjects he was able to gather much important information regarding the manufactures and products of this country, besides what he learned and saw on the spot in Sûs. This unpretentious production of modest title must therefore rank among the satisfactory works on Morocco.

Jansen (W.). *London*, 1816.

A View of the Present Condition of the States of Barbary.

A compilation called forth by the momentary interest in the suppression of the Barbary pirates. The second chapter only deals with Morocco.

[Jardine] (Lt.-Col. A.). *London*, 1783

Letters from Barbary. ("By an English Officer.")

The report of a military official lent by the Governor of Gibraltar to Sidi Mohammed XVII. It is too brief to convey much fresh information, but is not devoid of interest.

Johnston (R. L. N.) See *Cowan and Johnston.*

Keatinge (Col. Maurice). *London*, 1816.

Travels in Europe and Africa. (2 vols.)

A discursive but readable account of many wanderings, including a trip through Morocco with the British embassy of 1785. It displays more general and classical knowledge than research into Moorish affairs, and includes more philosophical, political, and moral dissertations than descriptions of what the worthy colonel saw. It is therefore of slight value as a work of reference.

"Kerdec-Chény" (A. de). *Tangier and Paris*, 1888. *Guide du Voyageur au Maroc.*

As the first guide-book compiled for Morocco, this little volume supplied a much-felt want for those reading French, and in an unpretentious form gave much more useful information than many a costly production, notwithstanding numerous inaccuracies. These are all the more astonishing in a work compiled on the spot, but the author—for some time editor of *Le Réveil du Maroc*—was new to the country himself, and made use of few authorities except De Foucauld, the *Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás*, and one or two recent productions. It is noteworthy as the first volume printed from type in the Moorish Empire,* and it reproduces a convenient map.

Kerr (Robert). *London*, 1894. *Pioneering in Morocco.*

The plain, unvarnished tale of a good work—the Central Morocco Mission—practically a collection of notes from the author's letters and diaries. Many new and valuable statements are encountered throughout its pages, but it hardly ranks as a work of reference.

IBN KHALDÛN (Abd er-Raḥmán). *Cir.* 1405. *Búlák*, 1867. *Algiers*, 1852–6. *Histoire des Berbères.* Selections from the *Kitáb el 'Aibr wa Dîwán el Mubtidá wa el Khabar, fi Aïyám el Maghrib wa el 'Ajam wa el Berber* (8 vols., translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, in 4 vols., with appendices and copious notes).

"The original work," says the *Bibliography*, "is a general history of the Mohammedan world, and is unsurpassed in Arabic literature as a masterpiece of historical composition," a statement which most fully applies to the portions in question here, by far the most valuable work on Moorish

* In formerly ascribing this distinction to my *Introduction to Morocco Arabic* I was in error.

history extant. Of De Slane's translation and comments less cannot be said. He tells us that his colossal task took him fourteen years. He has not only translated, but has with scrupulous pains checked and supplemented the original work throughout. To him, and to the French Imperial Library, at whose expense these volumes were produced, as well as to the historian himself, all students of Morocco and Islám owe hearty gratitude.

Ibn Khaldûn, a Ḥadramaût Arab, was born in Tunis in 1332, and at twenty-one became the royal private secretary. After travels in Algeria, he visited the Court of Abu 'Aïnán of Morocco, where he at first received a similar appointment, but was afterwards imprisoned for two years. on account of his sympathy with the Tunisian Ḥafṣîs, On restoration to favour he played an important part in securing the throne for Ibrahîm II., after which he went to Spain, and was sent as ambassador from Granáda to Pedro the Cruel at Seville. Returning to Eastern Barbary, he was for a time the Chamberlain of the Ameer of Bougie, and eventually visited Egypt, where "Saladin" made him chief judge of Cairo, as a result of a course of lectures delivered in the Azhár College. Mekka and the Holy Land next came within his journeyings, and having followed the sultan to Damascus, he was in that city when it was captured by "Tamerlane," with whom he took refuge, astonishing him by reading out of his great work the Tartar's history and genealogy. After receiving every honour, he was allowed to return to Egypt to conclude his task, on which he had already spent fourteen years in the Fayyûm, where he died in 1406.

Such a record has rarely been achieved, and if only on account of his unquestioned erudition and his unequalled opportunities for personal investigation, the work of Ibn Khaldûn would deserve the highest confidence; but he also had access to most valuable sources of information

long since lost, to which he freely recognises his indebtedness. He was a man, moreover, of great discernment and sober judgment, wonderfully systematic and minute for an Oriental, although his facts are often out of proportion, and the plan of his work involves much repetition. The arrangement is neither chronological nor geographical, but genealogical, each tribe or family being traced from the region of mythical ancestry down to its practical disappearance, if that had occurred by his time.

Ibn Khallikán. (Ahmad). *Cir.* 1275. *London*, 1843–71. *Kitáb Wakeeát el 'Aïán.* (A Biographical Dictionary, translated from the Arabic by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols.)

An invaluable work of reference, the well-merited celebrity of which among the Arabs—who justly hold it in esteem for its exactitude—has led to its having been frequently condensed and supplemented. The service rendered by De Slane in giving it to the West is as great as in the case of his translation of Ibn Khaldûn. Ibn Khallikán was for some time chief judge of Damascus, and also a professor in Egypt, where he had been educated. Among the biographies given are those of Yûsef bin Tashfîn, Ibn Tûmart the Mahdi, Abd el Mû'min, Yâḳûb el Manṣûr, and others of interest in Morocco.

Kobelt (Dr. Wilhelm). *Frankfurt*, A.M. 1883. *Nach den Säulen des Hercules.* (2 parts.)

The portions of this account of a scientist's journey which refer to Morocco contain much information of value concerning its conchology. It appeared in the *Deutsche Touristen-Zeitung*, and in a subsequent paper published in the *Zoologische Garten*, the author touched upon the Moroccan mammalia.

Lavaissière, P. See *Fiction*, p. 530.

Leared (Dr. Arthur). *London*, 1876.

I. *Morocco and the Moors.*

The value of this book has been greatly overestimated, as Dr. Leared, having no intimate acquaintance with this country or its people, had to rely on superficial information from books and guides for some of his most interesting statements, the weight of which may be judged from that fact. He only visited the coast towns and Marrákesh, with no knowledge of the language, and the many errors he has fallen into are not surprising. But the facts supplied by Mr. Broome, of Mogador, and other residents, are worthy of credence, and so are the author's own observations. The most useful portion is the appendix dealing with the principal native medicines, but the chapter on the diseases of Morocco contains nothing remarkable.

London, 1879.

II. *A Visit to the Court of Morocco.*

An interesting account of the Portuguese embassy to Mulai el Ḥasan on his accession. Apart from the description of the journey, it contains valuable appendices on the battle of El Ḳaṣar el Kabîr in 1578, the site of Volubilis, etc. Dr. Leared enters fully into the question whether the ruins known as Ḳaṣar Faraôn are actually those of Volubilis or not, and his conclusion that such they are has been borne out by subsequent discoveries.

Lemprière (Dr. William). *London*, 1791.

A Tour to Morocco.

The author, a surgeon of the Gibraltar garrison, visited Tarudant in 1789, in order to attend a son of Sidi Mohammed XVII. The story of his journey to Sûs is interesting, and his description of both country and inhabitants is observant, but this is not a book which well repays the reader. Dr. Lemprière had evidently studied Pellow, which enabled him to greatly improve his own work. The portion which treats of the reign of the

red-haired tyrant El Yazeed, and of his bullying the foreign consuls, has peculiar value as contemporary evidence.

Lenz (Dr. Oskar). *Leipzig*, 1884.

Timbuktu: Reise durch Marokko. (2 vols.; French translation also published.)

Of these two volumes, only the first deals with Morocco, but is in itself a valuable *résumé* of facts about the country, although the authorities drawn upon are not so frequently acknowledged as they might have been, and the value of the original contributions of Dr. Lenz is greatly lessened thereby. This is especially the case with regard to Sûs, through which Lenz passed in disguise, content to draw on Gatell for most of the information imparted, instead of making the best of his own unique opportunity. The map is not remarkable, and the illustrations are from well-known photographs.

Llana (Manuel G.), and **Rodrigañez** (Tirso). *Madrid*, 1879.

El Imperio de Marruecos.

A careful compilation in concise form of much information respecting both country and people, by the editors of *La Iberia*, prefaced by a useful historical sketch, and supplemented by the treaties with Spain since 1861, but containing little, if anything, original.

"Pierre Loti" [Viaud] (Lieut. Julien). *Paris*, 1890.

Maroc.

One of this well-known author's fascinating sketch-books of eastern travel, descriptive of the embassy from France to Fez in 1889. It is full of action and colour, and on the whole conveys a correct impression of the artistic aspect of life in Morocco, but it is not to be looked to for facts.

Mackenzie (Donald). *London*, 1886.

Report on the Condition of Morocco.

A pamphlet issued by the Anti-Slavery Society, containing practically nothing new, yet

affording a clear, concise, and tolerably accurate account of the state of this country, suitable for readers unacquainted with it.

[Mairault] (Adrian Maurice). *Paris*, 1742.

Relation de ce qui est passé dans le Royaume de Maroc depuis l'annee 1727 jusqu'en 1737.

Although anonymous, this volume is attributed by Abbé Godard[1] to M. Mairault, who appears to have been closely connected with the French Fathers of Mercy, if not one of their number. His record is a useful historical contribution to its special period.

El Makkári (Ahmad). *London*, 1840.

History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain. (A translation by Pascual de Gayangos of the *Naftu't-Ṭaïb*: 2 vols.)

Rightly described in the *Bibliography* as "a monumental work . . . indispensable to the study of the history of Moorish Africa." A rather slipshod translation by a former Professor of Arabic in Madrid, it is, nevertheless, in excellent English, and in parts affords most interesting reading. The collateral extracts from other native writers, and the translator's critical notes, are of great value. The affairs of Morocco are touched upon only when, under the Murábṭîs and Muwáḥḥadîs, Spain became a portion of the Moorish Empire, and the seat of government was transferred to Marrákesh. El Makkári was more of a compiler than an original author, but as he is careful to quote at length, and with acknowledgment, from works long since lost sight of, his history is of considerable value. He was a native of Tlemçen, and wrote in Egypt in the fifteenth century.

Maltzan (Heinrich von). *Leipzig*, 1863.

Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika. (4 vols.)

A carefully written traveller's narrative, interspersed with historical jottings, the final volume

[1] p. 535.

THE MOORISH EMPI

To face page 491.

of which describes a tour down the Moorish coast, and up to Marrákesh, called by the writer "The Damascus of the West." This he explored in the unenviable garb imposed on the sons of Israel who have the misfortune to reside in that city. Here and there a fact may be gleaned, the fruit of personal observation, but caution must be exercised in placing reliance thereon.

Marcet (Dr. A.). *Paris*, 1885.

Le Maroc.

A brief and fairly correct account of one of the regulation European embassies, the route in this case being from Mazagan to Marrákesh, and thence to Mogador. It is too superficial to contain much original information, the writer being, as usual, ignorant of the language.

Marmol Caruajal (Luys). *Granáda*, 1573.

Descripción general de Affrica. (3 vols.)

As a storehouse of facts about Morocco this classic has been freely used for three hundred years, and it is time that it were superseded, especially as the work of Leo Africanus formed its unacknowledged basis. Subsequent writers have in the same way utilised Marmol, and later arrivals the works of intermediate predecessors, till it is difficult to tell which lends authority to which, and an abundant crop is produced of what Dr. Johnson called "wandering lies." Marmol was a native of Granáda, who served in the expedition of Carlos V. against Algiers, and being captured, spent nearly eight years in North Africa, so that he was able to introduce much original matter in that section of his work at least. Books III. and IV. concern Morocco.

El Marrákeshi ('Abd el Wáhhid). *Marrákesh*, 1224. *Leyden*, 1847, 1881. *Alger*, 1891–3.

El Mâjab fî Talkhees Akhbar el Maghrib. —*The Enjoyment of an Epitome of Moorish History.* French Translation by E. Fagnan in the *Revue africaine*, Nos. 202–207.

El Marrákeshi, who confines himself chiefly to an account of the Muwáḥḥadi Period—towards the close of which he lived—informs us that he had access to no previous histories of that period, so that an additional value is lent to the facts that he has collected with regard to it. The introductory sketch of the preceding dynasties is drawn from authorities for the most part still available, but it is not devoid of value. The length of the work is increased, but without improving its value, by the insertion, in Oriental style, of many quotations, good and bad, from poetasters of the time.

Martiniere (Vicomte H. de la). *London*, 1889. *Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez, and to the Court of Mulai Hassan.*

Notwithstanding the important information contained in this work, and particularly its careful route maps, it is disappointing, inasmuch as greater things might be expected of the author, the result of whose excavations on historical sites has yet to be presented in a popular form. This book is in many respects incomplete, and is carelessly put together, the translation—for it was written in French—being altogether slovenly, a criticism which applies with equal force to the appended continuation of Renou's Morocco Bibliography. It is difficult to understand why the able author consented to such an appearance abroad, and it is to be sincerely hoped that ere long he may produce a record worthy of his diligent labours.

(Reviewed by me in *The Times of Morocco*, No. 237.)

MAS LATRIE (Le Comte L. de). *Paris*, 1866–1872. I. *Traités de Paix et de Commerce, et Documents divers concernant les Relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au moyen âge.* (Two Parts and Supplement.)

There are few contributions to Moroccan history more

valuable than this collection. The absence of any notice of relations with Great Britain is explained by the fact that these commenced in earnest only about the time of the most recent documents included, which accentuates the need of a continuation. The introduction—a summary of the chief points in the letters and treaties which follow—is of no small value, and has been issued separately in a revised form as:—

Paris, 1886. II. *Relations et Commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale avec les Nations Chrétiennes au moyen âge.*

An able historical sketch, one of the few entirely satisfactory volumes which deal with Morocco, while treating equally of all the Barbary States.

[**Maurville**] (Bidé de). *Amsterdam*, 1775. *Relation de l'Affaire de Larache.*

An anonymous volume by a French naval ensign (p. 235), which deals almost entirely with the unsuccessful attempt of the French, under Du Chaffault, at Laraiche in 1765, and the author's subsequent two years of captivity, during which he was made chief of the French prisoners. With the exception of a few notes and a generally descriptive appendix, it contains little information about the country or people.

Mayo (W. S.) See *Fiction*, p. 524.

Mela. See *Appendix*, p. 553.

Mendoça (Hieronimo). *Lisbôa*, 1607. *Jornada de Africa.*

A valuable account of Dom Sebastian's ill-starred expedition of 1578, in which the author served, with particulars of the fate and ransom of the prisoners taken by the Moors. The circumstantial manner in which the narrative is set forth obtains for it a place among the most reliable contributions to Moorish history.

Menezes (Fernando de). *Lisbôa Occidental*, 1732.

Historia de Tangere.

An important record of the Portuguese occupation of Tangier (1471–1662), with an epitome of what was then known of its ancient history. It was written by the last of the Portuguese governors, after its evacuation by the English, with a view to inducing its re-occupation. Very little information is given beyond its original capture and a list of the successive governors and their constant combats with the Moors.

Mercier (Ernest). *Paris*, 1888–91.

I. *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale depuis les temps les plus reculés.* (3 vols.)

A replete, if unwieldy, compilation, of which the chapters on the ancient history are the most valuable. The subsequent account is principally a *rechauffé* of the French translations of Ibn Khaldûn, *Raôḍ el Ḳartás*, El Ûfráni, Ez-Zaïáni, etc., with important additions from other sources, which make it the most complete and systematic history of Barbary extant. It contains little that is new about Morocco, which perforce receives but a limited share of attention.

Constantine and Paris, 1874.

II. *Histoire de l'Établissement des Arabes dans l'Afrique septentrionale.*

Practically a compilation in the form of a continuous narrative, of the scattered data of Ibn Khaldûn and other native authors, dealing specially with the immigration of Hiláli Arabs in the eleventh century. A useful work.

Merry y Colomb (Francisco). *Madrid*, 1864.

Mi Embajada Extraordinaria á Marruecos en 1863.

Nothing more important than a collection of the official reports of an ambassador, containing little that is new or interesting, although a few political facts come out in the negotiations described.

Montbard (G.). *London*, 1894. *Among the Moors: Sketches of Oriental Life.*

An entertaining account of the usual trip to Fez, etc., with the usual absence of any new facts. Profusely illustrated with woodcuts purporting to be from the author's own drawings, but notwithstanding his tirade against the reproduction of photographs for illustrative purposes, all the best of those in his book are from photographs. Several of them were never taken in Morocco, but Algeria, and the evidently genuine sketches of native types are only caricatures; a few of the landscapes and views alone deserve consideration. An intention to be funny at the expense of his companions is displayed throughout, but apparently no attempt is made to instruct.

Mouëtte (Le Sieur G.). *Paris*, 1683. I. *Histoire des Conquestes de Mouley Archy ... et de Mouley Ismaël.*

A special interest pertains to this contemporary record, written on the spot by an observing captive of some education. Additional value is lent by the fact that most of the information was derived from a native, a learned ṭáleb or scribe, who, having fallen on evil times, became the friend of Mouëtte while engaged with him in the same employment. The original manuscript was carried off to Paris by a French merchant of Salli, under the pretence of obtaining ransom for its author, and the claim made by Desmay (p. 468) to have been entrusted with its publication is repudiated in the preface. Unfortunately this work has been confounded by many with the author's second attempt.*

Paris, 1702.† II. *Relation de la Captivité du Sieur Mouëtte dans les Royaumes de Fez et de Maroc.*

* Even in the *Bibliography*, where the three paragraphs of Art. 295, commencing "Another Edition," and ending with "his Relation," should—with some revision—complete Art. 296.

† Licensed 1683.

The interest of this work centres round the personal experiences of the author and his fellow-prisoners, whose amorous adventures are the theme of several chapters. It is evident that even in those days the public desired less

CENTRAL MOROCCO
(From Mouëtte, 1683)

solid and instructive reading than the previous *History*, and beyond affording valuable insight into the lives of the European captives in Morocco—as one of whom the author spent eleven years—the *Relation* does not greatly add to our stock of knowledge.

Murray (Elizabeth). *London*, 1859.

Sixteen Years of an Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands. (2 vols.)

A well-told tale, the opening scenes of which portray life in Tangier half a century ago, and include the French bombardment of that town and Mogador in 1844, with some important observations weightily expressed. The author's husband held a consular appointment here. The second volume is not concerned with this country.

EN-NÁṢIRI (Ahmad bin Khalîd és-Sláwi). *Cairo*, 1895.

Kitáb el Istiḳsà fii Akhbár Daûl el Maghrib. —*Book of Investigation into Moorish History.* (4 vols.)

This most recent Moorish history is the only one first published through the press, and its author, a native of Salli, has not long enough survived the conclusion of his great task to reap the fame he has so justly earned. From himself we learn that he was born in 1834, from which time on he is always careful to note whether his information is from eye-witnesses or from report, or from his own observation, and throughout he is exemplary in naming his authorities. He died in 1897.

Beginning with the early times of Mohammedan influence, his record ends with the reign of Mulai el Ḥasan, in the year preceding its publication. From p. 150 of the last volume—which commences with the reigning Fîláli dynasty—its author breaks new ground, continuing the work which Ez-Zaïáni had brought down to his own day, 1812. In the earlier volumes En-Náṣiri generally contents himself with re-telling the tale of the *Ḳarṭás* or Ibn Khaldûn, and of subsequent well-known writers, but he gives the best account we as yet possess of the later period of the Beni Marîn. For this—in his second volume, in addition to the *Nashar el Mathánî* and the *Jadhwah* of Ibn el Ḳáḍi—biographical collections recently published in Fez—he has made use of works called *El Maráh*

(p. 160), *Badáïâ es-Silk* (p. 176), of the *Dúkán* of Ibn 'Askar, paraphrased by the Sheïkh Abu'l Ḥasan 'Ali bin 'Othmán es-Sháwi (p. 170), and of the poems of the Imám 'Abu'l Ḥasan 'Ali bin Harûn (p. 176), quoting also "the late Sheïkh Zarûḳ" (p. 161), and a "Manuel" (p. 160), whom I have not yet succeeded in identifying, apparently a Portuguese writer, if not Castellanos.

[Nolasque] (Rev. P.). *Paris*, 1724. *Relation de . . . trois Voyages . . . de la Mercy dans les États du Roy de Maroc.*

A record of the journeys undertaken, and the efforts made, from 1704 to 1712, for the redemption of Europeans, but with scanty information as to either Morocco or the Christian slaves. Busnot, who accompanied the earlier expeditions described, gives a far better account of them, and much of what he wrote is here incorporated. The first report of these particular missions to be published was that of T. Marmol, in 1712, but it is very rare.

"Nozhat el Hádi." See *Ufráni.*

Ocaña (Fray Gines). *Cadiz*, 1675. *Epitome del Viage que hizo a Marruecos el Padre Fr. Francisco de la Concepciõ.*

Practically an account, by one of his companions, of the mission and martyrdom of Juan de Prado, originally published in Madrid in 1644, this edition being of much inferior letterpress. As its name implies, it is short, but it is not devoid of interest.

Ockley (Rev. Simon). *London*, 1713. *An Account of South-West Barbary.*

The name under which this appears is that of the editor, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and that of the author, formerly a slave in Morocco, remains unknown. Besides some very interesting details as to the sufferings of the captives, and the character of Mulai Ismâïl, it contains a fairly accurate general description of the better known parts of the country, and of its people, including the Jews.

Olivié (Manuel). *Barcelona*, 1893.

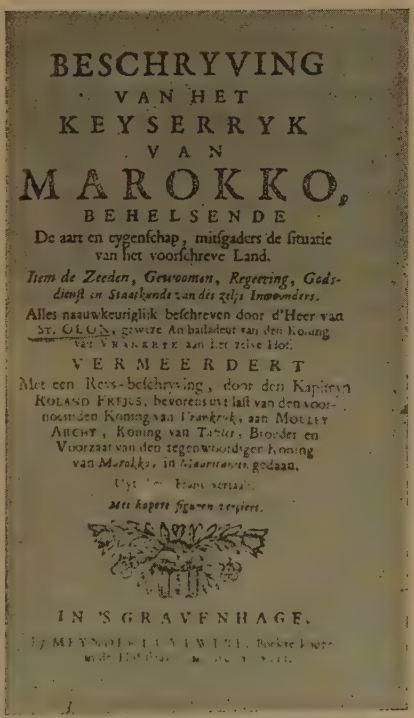
Marruecos.

A work with such a title, unless cyclopædic, must be disappointing, as it raises so many expectations. This particular specimen is but an enlarged political pamphlet, padded out with descriptions at second hand of Moorish life, religion and misgovernment. The object is to prove a case for the interference of Spain.

St. Olon (Pidou de). *Paris*, 1695.

Relation de l'Empire de Maroc. (2nd Ed.)

It was by the express command of Louis XIV. to furnish "an exact account of the territory, social conditions, government, religion, etc., of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco," that his ambassador wrote this account of what he saw and heard. The most interesting feature is perhaps the comparison afforded between the reception of ambassadors in those days and these, showing how, while little change has taken place in the ceremonial, great advances have been made in the respect shown to Europeans. The "territory and social conditions" receive slight atten-


BESCHRYVING
VAN HET
KEYSERRYK
VAN
MAROKKO,
BEHELSENDE
De aart en eygenschap, mitsgaders de situatie van het voorschreve Land.
Item de Zeeden, Gewoonten, Regeering, Godsdienst en Staatkunde van des zelfs Inwoonders.
Alles naauwkeurigliik beschreven door d'Heer van ST. OLON, gewese Ambassadeur van den Koning van FRANKRYK aan het zelve Hof.
VERMEERDERT
Met een Reys-beschryving, door den Kapiteyn ROLAND FREJUS, bevorens uyt last van den voornoemden Koning van Frankryk, aan MOLLEY ARCHY, Koning van Tafilet, Broeder en Voorzaat van den tegenwoordigen Koning van Marokko, in Mauritanien gedaan.
Met kopere figuren verciert.
IN 'S GRAVENHAGE.

DUTCH EDITION OF ST. OLON, 1698

tion, but the report was compiled with care. The quaintly drawn woodcuts are evidently either from very poor notes, or from faint recollection.

Ovilo (Dr. Felipe). *Madrid*, 1881.

La Mujer Marroquí.

This little volume may be classed among the few publications regarding this country which give satisfaction, as the author, at one time medical attaché of the Spanish Legation in Tangier, confines himself to his subject, and deals with a matter of which he has personal knowledge. He gives a fairly correct and succinct account of the round of a woman's life in Morocco, whether Moorish, Berber or Jewish, and the laws of the Ḳor'án relating to women are conveniently summarised. Unfortunately the illustrations detract from the worth of the book, being most unnatural and overdrawn, apparently from imagination.

Paddock (Judah). *London*, 1818.

Narrative of the Shipwreck of the "Oswego."

An entertaining narrative of the hardships undergone by an American crew on the coast of Sûs. It includes valuable descriptions of the customs of the people among whom the castaways had to live, and of the treatment of shipwrecked crews in that part of Morocco—a treatment which has known but little modification.

Payton (Char'es A.). *London*, 1879.

Moss from a Rolling Stone.

The "Moss" here gathered was found in the *Field* and other publications, above the signature of "Sarcelle." It consists of papers on various phases of life in Southern Morocco and elsewhere, written in a lively strain, and burdened with little information interesting to any but sportsmen. Yet they have the charm of being trustworthy, and it will be of public utility when the large

number of more solid contributions from the same pen to contemporary periodicals and consular reports, particularly those dealing with Moroccan fisheries, are gathered into a suitable volume, which would rank with the foremost.

Peele (George). See *Fiction*, p. 519.

PELLOW (Thomas). *London*, 1736. *Captivity and Adventures in South Barbary.*

A most interesting account of the captivity of an Englishman, a native of Falmouth, taken prisoner by the rovers in 1715, when a boy on his first voyage. The story of his attempt to get free is typical, and abundant evidence, internal and external, places him above the suspicion to which many such writers were open, of having concocted a story from materials supplied by others. Col. James, who afterwards read the book, says in his *Herculæan Straits* (vol. ii., p. 28) that he saw the MSS. in Morocco, which is an additional proof of its genuineness. Braithwaite (p. 242) tells us that Pellow, to whom he gives an excellent character, visited the ambassador Russel in Mequinez, and briefly narrated his experiences. Pellow's language is often quaint and ungrammatical, in spite of its having been edited by a more educated hand, responsible, doubtless, for the unacknowledged incorporation of many pages from Windus.

London, 1890. The recent publication of an edition annotated by Dr. Robert Brown, has brought a really valuable account of Moorish life within the reach of modern readers. It is from the pen of a man who for twenty-three years lived as a Moor, with a Moorish wife, and who was for some years an officer in the shareefian army. Pellow's accounts of his various expeditions are of peculiar interest, as showing how little the *modus operandi* has changed since that time, and his careful itineraries, extending as far as Tûát and Timbuktoo, are useful in fixing the whereabouts of distant and still inaccessible spots.

Pietsch (Ludwig). *Leipzig*, 1877.

Marokko.

A reprint of letters from an "outsider" who accompanied a German embassy to Fez, one of which bears the title, "Three Breakfasts and a Corpse." Otherwise of the usual style of such literature.

[Perdicaris] (Ion). *London*, 1887.

American Claims and the Protection of Native Subjects in Morocco. (See also *Fiction*, p. 525.)

The appearance of this artistic pamphlet was but a feature in a recriminative warfare raging at the time of its publication between its author and the ex-consul-general of the United States in Morocco. Its contents cannot therefore be regarded as contributions to fact.

Perez del Toro (Felipe). *Madrid*, 1892.

España en el Norueste de Africa.

A careful compilation of some utility, though not remarkable for accuracy. Data beyond the possibility of verification are included, but the references generally are good. The most valuable chapter deals with "Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña," its antecedents and its prospects.

Perrier (Amelia). *London*, 1873.

A Winter in Morocco.

The title indicates sufficiently the scope of this book, which is not rashly to be quoted. Its writer never probed beneath the surface, and made no pretence of being a student. The only interest is the comparison afforded between the Tangier of a quarter of a century ago and the Tangier of to-day, which has altogether improved from even the tourist point of view.

Pezzi (Rafael). *Madrid*, 1893.

Los Presidios Menores de Africa, y la Influencia Española en el Rif.

An important monograph on the Spanish fortresses in Morocco, by a War Office official, issued in

consequence of a threatened rupture between Morocco and Spain, occasioned by encroachments and reprisals at Melilla. It is thus political as well as instructive, and it is enriched with maps and views by the author.

Phelps (Thomas). *London*, 1685. *An Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps.* A brief but interesting narrative of the personal experiences of a sea captain during a short captivity at Mequinez, which throws light on the methods of the pirates. It is dedicated to Pepys, who had presented the author to King Charles.

Picard (Edmond). *Brussels*, 1893. *El Moghreb al Aksa.* One of those cleverly written accounts of foreign embassies which the envoy usually finds some journalist delighted to undertake. This specimen treats of Baron Whettnall's journey as Ambassador of Belgium in 1887, and is above the average, although its author has the unfortunate French taste for things which should not be mentioned. Facts need not here be sought for, but impressions are well recorded, and are not over-drawn.

Pliny. See *Appendix*, p. 552.

Polybius. See *Appendix*, p. 548.

Porter (Jane). See *Fiction*, p. 528.

Prado (José, Marquez de). *Madrid*, 1859. *Recuerdos de Africa; Historia de la Plaza de Ceuta.* Very much of the nature of the volume by Menezes on Tangier, chiefly confined to a record of the Moorish attacks, and the changes of governors and bishops. The history of any place so situated could be little more, and in this case the details are of very limited interest.

Ptolemy. See *Appendix*, p. 554.

DE EL PUERTO* (Fr. Francisco de San Juan). *Sevilla*, 1708.

Mission Historial de Marruecos.

A valuable history of the Franciscan missions in Morocco, with notes on earlier Christian records in North Africa. The most important section covers the seventeenth century, during the latter part of which the author was superintendent of the Friary at Mequinez. Somewhat prolix, and abusive of the Moors, as compilations of this class are apt to be, and credulous withal, it is an excellent specimen, splendidly printed. To its pages Castellanos and Godard are largely indebted for their mediæval records.

Rae (Edward). *London*, 1877.

The Country of the Moors.

This title is a misnomer, explained in the sub-title. The subject is, "A Journey from Tripoly in Barbary to the City of Kairwân," and the Moors are not even touched upon.

THE "RÂOD EL KARṬÁS" (By Abu'l Ḥasan Ibn Abi Zarâ el Fási, or Sálâh bin Abd el Ḥalim el Gharnáti). *Fez*, 1326. *Paris*, 1860.

El Ánces el Mutrib, Raôd el Kartás fi Akhbár Mulook el Maghrib, wa Tareekh Madînat Fás, or *The Agreeable Companion, a Garden of Documents on the History of the Sovereigns of Morocco, and the Annals of the City of Fez.*

French translation by A. Baumier, entitled, *Roudh el-Kartas. Histoire des Souverains du Maghreb . . . et Annales de la Ville de Fès.*

The authorship of this unquestionably leading Moorish history is claimed for two writers of whom little or nothing is known. Ibn Abi Zarâ, to whom preference is given by the present reviewer, is named as its author in the good edition recently lithographed in Fez (1888), as well as in several well-known manuscripts, but it would be fruitless

* No. 324 in the *Bibliography*, where the surname is omitted.

to open the discussion here. Those curious on the subject are referred to the *Bibliography* (Arts. 871, 1523, etc.), and to an exhaustive note by Gayangos in his translation of *Makkari* (vol. ii., p. 515). There is even a dispute as to the meaning of the expression "Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás"—used in reference* throughout these works, on account of the uncertain authorship—and some have derived it from a garden created near Fez by Zîri bin Ȧtîá, which bore that name. Translations, more or less complete, have been published by Pétis de la Croix (Paris, 1693, in MS.), by Dombay (Agram, 1794, in German), by Moura (Lisbon, 1828, in Portuguese), and by Thornberg (Upsala, 1846, in Latin, with Arabic text). Conde has embodied most of it in his history of Spain. But Baumier has rendered the greatest service in this respect.

In a concise and satisfactory manner, the *Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás* tells the story of the Moorish Empire from its foundation to the commencement of the fourteenth century, with useful summaries of great events and natural phenomena. Its very excellencies have led many to be satisfied with its assertions without further search for confirmation, and all subsequent native authors have made it a groundwork. Only their additions to it have independent value. Where they appear to confirm, they may be assumed to have copied.

"Relation . . . de la Mercy," see *Nolasque.*

Renou (Émilien). *Paris*, 1846. *Description Geographique de l'Empire du Maroc.* (Vol. viii. of the "Exploration Scientifique d'Algérie.)

A publication by the French Government, of a nature rather to provide collated material for subsequent writers on the spot than for perusal. It consists almost entirely

* To Baumier's translation.

of a painstaking attempt to harmonise all the geographical data of the chief writers on Morocco up to the time it was published. Its author had little personal knowledge of the country, and evidently little opportunity of consultation with its natives. It is accompanied by a map still of use for the less known parts, a table of the latitudes and longitudes till then ascertained, and contributions to the bibliography and cartography of Morocco.

Reparaz (G.). *Madrid*, 1893.

Marruecos, El Rif, Melilla.

Nothing but a political pamphlet, calling on the Spanish Government to demand the cession of territory round its Moroccan possessions.

Rey. *Algiers and Paris*, 1844.

Souvenirs d'un Voyage au Maroc.

An interesting anglophobe account by a resident of a "trip down the coast."

Richardson (James). *London*, 1860.

Travels in Morocco. (2 vols.)

The title of this work is a misnomer; the author's only "travel in Morocco" recorded therein was a picnic from Mogador to Diabat, a few miles away. But Mr. Richardson is probably no more to blame for the selection of the title of his book—which was published after his death—than for the printer's and other errors with which it abounds, the majority of which would doubtless have been corrected had he himself revised it.

The introduction by a Captain Cave still further reduces its value. This ex-officer calls on England to "hunt" the Moors "from the fair land which they occupy, and force them back on the deserts which vomited them forth," giving as a reason that "civilization cries aloud for retribution on a race whose religion teaches them to regard us as 'dogs.'" These rash words are hardly counterbalanced by the sensible preface of the author's widow. The most valuable information is appropriated from Calderon.

Riley (James). *London*, 1817.

Loss of the American Brig "Commerce."

Cast ashore near Cape Barba, Capt. Riley and his companions were brought by the Arabs to Mogador, undergoing the usual deprivations, of which he has furnished a graphic account in an excellently printed volume. Much fragmentary information may be gleaned from his pages, a leading feature of which is a native account of Timbuctoo. Although a close observer, and passably accurate, the author makes terrible havoc, not only of native words, but also of European names.

Ripperda. See *Fiction*, pp. 247 (note) and 530.

Rohlfs (Gerhard). *Bremen*, 1867. *London*, 1874.

Reisen durch Marokko.

Adventures in Morocco. (Translated from the German by Winwood Reade.)

Little more than its name implies, this is a volume which well repays reading, if only for the insight it gives into Moorish character, especially among the lower orders. Dr. Rohlfs made a long journey in Morocco alone, nearly always on foot, in the disguise of a renegade without funds, and at first ignorant of the language. He endured fearful hardships, and penetrated parts of the country inaccessible to Christians. Had he given still more particulars as to his life, and made fewer efforts to augment his work by drawing upon less reliable authors, it would have been much more satisfactory, but this fault is attributable to the loss of his notes. The numerous errors of detail into which he has thereby fallen greatly detract from the worth of a most interesting book.

The many subsequent contributions to Moroccan literature by Dr. Rohlfs (who still lives) are of much less value, having been prepared at a distance with the aid of the experience of others.

Rochon (Abbé Alexis). *Paris*, 1791. *Voyage à Madagascar, à Maroc et aux Indes Orientales.*

The comprehensive title of this work is due to the fact that the author travelled as "Marine Astronomer" on board the French man-of-war which conveyed Dr. Breugnon and Chenier to Saffi in 1767. Morocco holds a very unimportant place among his notes, which are of interest as an authoritative picture of the times.

Russell (Rev. Michael). *Edinburgh*, 1835. *History and Present Condition of the Barbary States.*

A convenient bird's-eye view of Morocco at the time of publication is included, principally compiled from Jackson, Ali Bey and Lemprière. It contributes no original data.

Salah bin Abd el Halîm. See *Raôd el Kartâs*.

Sallust. See *Appendix*, p. 550.

Schlagintweit (Eduard). *Leipzig*, 1863. *Der Spanisch-marokkanische Krieg in . . . 1859 und 1860.*

A full and detailed account of this war by a Bavarian officer, partly from his own experience, and partly compiled. It is probably the best record of its subject that we possess, but the results of the author's observation would have been of greater value alone. His own copy, annotated for a second edition, is in Dr. Brown's collection.

Schweighofer. *Wien*, 1783. *Einleitung zur Kenntniss . . . der . . . Königreiche Maroko und Fes.*

A brief and careful *résumé* of general information about this country, largely drawing on Höst, but containing useful historical and bibliographical data in appendices.

Scott (Alexander). See *Fiction*, p. 532.

Scott (Colonel K. S. F.). *London*, 1842. *A Journal . . . of Travels in Morocco and Algiers.*

Written with "the sole object of vindicating the character of His Royal Highness the Ameer (ʿAbd el Ḳáder), and clearing it from the aspersions thrown on it by the French papers," by an English officer who entered his service; so much need not be expected about Morocco. Yet as the author reached Algeria by way of Tetuan and Táza, returning viâ Táza to Fez and Tetuan, he covered ground still little known, but the information given is very scanty and inaccurate.

Scylax. See *Appendix*, p. 547.

[Ségur.] *Edinburgh*, 1797. *An Account of the Life of Muley Liezit.* (Translated by Robert Heron.)

This translation is from an anonymous French edition, apparently printed in Rome, and published in Amsterdam. Its facts are presented in a manner leaving no doubt as to the authority of the writer, possibly the secret agent of Spain at the Moorish court. This man was François Ségur—alias Sid Idrees—a German by birth, and a self-styled captain in the Austrian army, who became a renegade in Morocco, but escaping to Cadiz, there returned to Christianity. He was also the author of an account of the Moorish Court in 1788, part of which is given in Agrell's *Bref om Maroco.** Mr. Heron's contribution of a summary of Moorish history is also useful, and not without merit.

[Seran de la Tour.] *Genève*, 1749. *Histoire de Mouley Mahamet, fils de Mouley Ismael, Roi de Maroc.*

An anonymous account of Mulai Ismâïl's most promising son, compiled from a number of contemporary authorities, quoting among others an unknown work by *Scherfield.*

* Gråberg says in his *Précis* that he saw the whole of it at Mogador.

Its purpose was to hasten the end of Moorish tyranny by exposing its horrors.

De Sestri (Julián A.). *Barcelona*, cir. 1892. *Por Todo Marruecos.*

Practically a translation of the volume by "Sir José Thomson," but being "written in the presence of" such unimpeachable authorities as Amicis, De Campou, Marcet, and "Loti," accuracy need not be expected, albeit a readable production has resulted. In addition to Thomson's own illustrations, most of those from Amicis are reproduced, all badly copied, and some wrongly named.

Settle (Elkanah). See *Fiction*, p. 521.

Shaw. *Oxford*, 1738. *Travels or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant.*

Dealing almost entirely with Algeria and Tunisia, and giving little information concerning Morocco.

Shelley. See *Fiction*, p. 523.

Sleigh (Capt. A. W.). *London*, 1857. *Resources of Ancient Mauritania.*

A brochure with little original information, published to promote a wild and undigested scheme for a "United Service of Enterprise and Commerce," "for the acquirement of wealth and position," by "the educated and enterprising," in a province to be carved out of Sûs by five hundred original members, all of them officials holding rank proportionate to their shares and qualifications. As additional inducements to investors were held forth the possible suppression of slavery and the propagation of Christianity!

Strabo. See *Appendix*, p. 551.

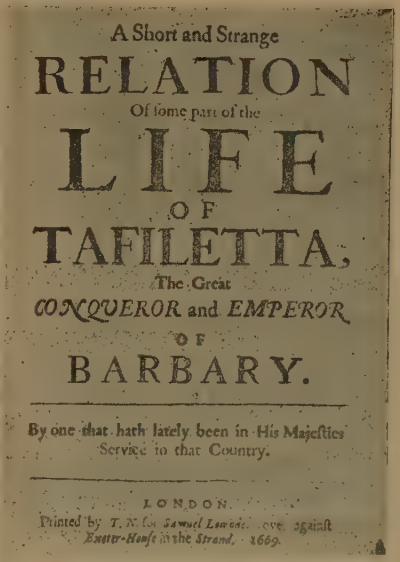
Stutfield (Hugh E. M.). *London*, 1886. *El Maghreb, 1200 Miles through Marocco.*

Full of interesting anecdotes and descriptions,

and with a rich vein of humour pervading the whole, this lightly-written work, the author's "first attempt at book-making," will repay the casual reader, who will find much to amuse him in the ridiculous side of most of the events therein chronicled. Mr. Stutfield took a special interest in the misgovernment of this country, and burned, as every Englishman should, to see some end put to all the injustices suffered by the Moors, especially those suffered at the hands of so-called Christians and civilised foreigners. He was right, but he would have been wiser had he eschewed political questions until he had made himself better acquainted with the tea-cup storms of Tangier politics. (See also *Fiction*, p. 527.)

"Tafiletta." *London*, 1669.

A Short and Strange Relation of Some Parts of the Life of Tafiletta.


A Short and Strange
RELATION
Of some part of the
LIFE
OF
TAFILETTA,
The Great
CONQUEROR and EMPEROR
OF
BARBARY.
By one that hath lately been in His Majesties Service in that Country.
LONDON.
Printed by T. N. for Samuel Lowndes over against Exeter-House in the Strand. 1669.

This pamphlet, "by one that hath lately been in His Majesties Service in that Country," rests on the authority of "a merchant of Provence resident in Arzilla," and contains little more than hearsay. It was published also in French, Dutch and German. Its most interesting item of information is that "Tafiletta," whose name (Mulai er-Rasheed) was unknown to the writer, "holds his cimeter with such a tenacious fist, that his hand cleaves to the handle, and that it cannot be

loosed without the assistance of lukewarm water," and further, that before his accession he took refuge with a Jewish ruler in the Atlas, whom he murdered and succeeded.*

"Tangier." *London*, 1664. *Description of Tangier.* (Translated in part from the Spanish, published "by authority," no author's name.)

One of the quaintest little volumes, utterly without merit, unless that of containing a ridiculous medley of facts and fancies from sundry old authors, and from popular report. It tells of beings in Morocco with "eyes and mouths in their breasts," and of veins of gold which "discovered themselves all along the coast, and upon the mountains." It actually makes the suggestion that the English in Tangier should take to piracy in the Straits, as "an honest way of livelihood to those Englishmen whose necesseties have debauched them to unable and shiftless wayes of living."

Thomas (Margaret). *London*, 1892. *A Scamper through Spain and Tangier.* Rather a difficult matter, a "Scamper through Tangier," but the more remarkable in that the authoress—an Australian who has produced a better effect with her brush than her pen—overlooked the one fact which fills most introductory chapters of "works" on Morocco, the astonishing "plunge into Africa" which the first day affords. "Perhaps," she says, "travellers who are acquainted with Tangier may be interested to know that its reputation as the worst landing-place in Europe is fully maintained." Travellers *unacquainted* with this Nazarene-defiled spot may be as interested to know that even as a landing-place on the "Dark Continent" the reputation of Tangier has greatly improved since her visit.

* See p. 138.

Thomassy (Raymond). *Paris*, 1845.

Le Maroc et ses Caravanes, ou Relations de la France avec cet Empire.

The first part of this title applies only to the introduction. The real subject is described by the second part, and is fully and carefully dealt with. Much completely new material from the archives of the French Foreign Office has been made use of, which renders this work of great worth to the historian. It is only superseded in part by that of Mas Latrie. Thomassy wrote, of course, from an entirely French point of view, and consequently many of his remarks about rival nations must be discounted, but otherwise his production deserves great praise.

Thomson (Joseph). *London*, 1889.

Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco.

A well-known traveller here narrates a journey in the interests of science to some less accessible parts of the Atlas. Unfortunately, his ignorance of the language and the character of the inhabitants considerably hampered him in his task, preventing his doing much original exploration. Yet many valuable geographical and geological data were obtained, although faults in some of the instruments employed prevented accuracy in observing altitudes. The geological map of South Western Morocco is useful, but the greater portion is conjectural. What Thomson did accomplish, nevertheless, was thorough as far as it went. (A most laughable skit on this work was contributed to *The Times of Morocco*, No 125, by R. L. N. Johnston.)

TISSOT (Charles). *Paris*, 1877.

Recherches sur la Géographie de la Maurétanie Tingitane.

One of the most important and reliable contributions to our knowledge of Morocco, the result of careful personal investigations by a minister of France.

By this work all previous conjectures as to the sites of ancient Roman and Phœnician settlements in Western Barbary are superseded, and probably nothing but excavation could modify Tissot's conclusions. The map and table of identifications are of great utility. Other works from the same able pen are:—

Paris, 1875. *Note sur l'ancien port d'el Ghat* (Waladîya). "Bulletin de la Société Géographique," t. x.

Paris, 1876. *Itinéraire de Tanger á Rbat* (with an excellent route map), l.c. t. xii.

Paris, 1876. *Les Monuments Mégalithiques . . . du Maroc.* (Pamphlet, with sketch-map reproduced on p. 7.)

All of these sustain the reputation of their author as a diligent and careful student, but, to quote the *Bibliography*, "his weakness as a critic was the contempt he displayed for those less able than himself, or who had the misfortune to differ from him."

TORRES (Diego de). *Sevilla*, 1586. *Relación del Origen y Suceso de los Xarifes.*

A most important record of Moorish history during the first half of the sixteenth century—1502 to 1557. The author was a Spaniard engaged from 1546 in the redemption of captives, who appears to have been most careful in the collection of information from eye-witnesses, when not himself present. He evinces unusual impartiality in writing of the Moors. This volume is a fine specimen of early typography.

Trotter (Capt. Philip D.). *Edinburgh*, 1881. *Our Mission to the Court of Morocco.*

In spite of the usual proportion of ridiculous blunders, this entertaining volume is above the average. Except when tempted by the ludicrousness or astounding nature of the nonsense furnished by interpreters

and guides, the author is content to describe what he himself saw, and his own observations are of value. It is a matter for regret that he had not further opportunities to explore this Empire. The photographs by the Hon. D. Lawless are very good, and the sketch-map of the route appears fairly accurate. The best part is the description of Fez.

Troughton (Thomas). *London*, 1751.

Barbarian Cruelty . . . Narrative . . . of the British Captives belonging to the "Inspector" Privateer.

An interesting picture of the later epoch of Christian slavery. The victims were eighty out of a crew of two hundred and four, shipwrecked in Tangier Bay in 1746, and held as security for the payment of some £12,000 alleged to be due on account of a previous ransom. The publisher has taken the precaution of prefixing affidavits as to the authenticity of both the text and the illustrations from memory by a "limner" of the party. The narrative itself may be relied upon, but the appended descriptions are mere excerpts from Windus and others.

EL UFRÁNI (Mohammed, *cir.* 1710). *Paris*, 1889.

Histoire de la Dynastie Saadienne au Maroc, —1524 to 1643. (A translation of the *Nozhat el Ḥádi*, by O. Houdas.)

The original title of this volume means "Pungent Amusement," but to western readers this may hardly seem deserved, for while interesting facts are scattered throughout, and to the historian it is of considerable importance, it is so diffuse, so taken up with fulsome praises by contemporary rhymesters, that it is unsatisfactory reading, even in comparison with kindred Arabic works. M. Houdas has, nevertheless, rendered a great service in bringing it within the range of European students.

Urquhart (David). *London*, 1850.

The Pillars of Hercules. (2 vols.)

Few volumes of equal size contain theories more startling or more scientifically—if not logically—demonstrated than do these two. Even when such theories are absolutely false, they evince much studious research and ingenuity. Their author—the well-read and clever Russophobe "travelling M.P."—whose knowledge of Morocco was limited to a very brief visit, managed to accumulate an amazing amount of information, much of it incorrect, so his work is well worth perusal by readers already acquainted with Morocco, and therefore able to choose between truth and trash; but strangers should beware, lest they find themselves unwittingly in those traps into which Mr. Urquhart tumbled.

URRESTAZU (Francisco de A. de). *Madrid*, 1877.

Viajes por Marruecos.

An unpretentious little work, presenting in a convenient form one of the best and most accurate descriptions of Morocco and its people. Born in this country, the author—a "professor of languages"—travelled in it as "Ṭáleb 'Abd el Ḳáder bin El Jîláli," and is one of the very few who have really understood their subject.

Villa-Urrutia (Wenceslas R. de). *Madrid*, 1883.

Una Embajada á Marruecos en 1882.

A brief but interesting diary of an embassy, recounting in a few pages what many have told in thick volumes, but containing nothing new or striking.

Voyage dans les États Barbaresques. See *Fiction*, p. 530.

Vyse (Mrs. Howard). *London*, 1882.

A Winter in Tangier, and Home through Spain.

The authoress might have found interested readers in her own circle, but as this is only

a personal diary, it is a pity that she should have made it public property, induced to do so, probably, by admiring comments from private friends.

Watson (R. Spence). *London*, 1880. *A Visit to Wazan.*

Dr. Watson had the good fortune to be everywhere described by his guide as the brother of the English wife of the shareef of Wazzán, but as he could not speak the language, this was only discovered on his return to Tangier. This character secured for the traveller every mark of respect, and he in consequence formed a high opinion of Moorish hospitality. Meeting the natives with an unprejudiced mind, he found them pleasant to deal with, especially as his stay among them was too brief to expose their short-comings. Bearing this in mind, his observations and experiences are of interest and value, and his work is very satisfactory.

DR. SPENCE WATSON
IN TRAVELLING COSTUME
(Frontispiece to his *Visit to Wazan*)

White (Edward). See *Fiction*, p. 520.

Windus (John). *London*, 1725. *A Journey to Mequinez . . . on the Occasion of Commodore Stewart's Embassy . . . in the year 1721.*

One of the volumes on Morocco which was most widely translated and reprinted at that interesting period, and which has most generally served as a quarry for the

unacknowledged excavations of subsequent "authors" and their editors. On the whole, the testimony of Windus may be credited as that of an independent witness who tells a plain tale. His book contains a plan made by the celebrated Dutch scholar Golius, of the Mequinez palace, and one edition presents, as a picture of Mulai Ismâïl, the accompanying woodcut, which had previously done duty in several works as portraying his brother Rasheed.*

Wyatt. See *Fiction*, p. 530.

EZ-ZAÏÁNI (Abu'l Kásem Ahmad). *Tlemçen*, 1813. *Paris*, 1886.

Et-turjmán el Moârib ân Daûl el Mashrik wa el Maghrib—The Lucid Interpreter of the Governments of East and West.

French translation of chapter xv., *Le Maroc de 1631 a 1812*, by Prof. O. Houdas.

An attempt by a retired Moorish official to write a general history, in which, however, only the Turkish and the reigning Moorish dynasties receive full treatment, supplemented by an account of his travels. The fifteenth chapter alone concerns Morocco, but its value is greatly augmented by the writer's personal experience as Secretary of State to Mulai Sulaïmán, during the close of the period under review. Few cognate works compete with this in directness of style, or continuity of narrative, qualities seldom met with in Arabic histories.

Ibn Abi Zarâ. See *Raôd el Kartás.*

* See p. 458.

II.

THE PLACE OF MOROCCO IN FICTION

SO many a distant land has come to be a hackneyed stage for the imaginative writer, that it is remarkable how rarely Morocco has served as a scene for drama, poetry or fiction. References to this country or its people—as in the case of *Othello*, or of the kings in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* — and instances of casual adventure on its coast, chiefly in the piracy days—as when *Robinson Crusoe*, among others, found himself captured by Salli rovers—are indeed not lacking, but they are invariably the misleading notions of those altogether ignorant of Morocco itself. With one or two exceptions, even the few who have sat down to write a "Morocco story" have been no better informed, so that as yet we have no work of any class of fiction which conveys reliable conceptions either of the past or the present conditions of life in the land of the Moors.*

The attention of playwrights was earlier turned to Morocco than that of novelists. Just three centuries ago the famous "battle of the three kings," in which perished the rash Dom Sebastian in 1578, near El Ḳaṣar, became the theme of

Peele (George). *London*, 1594.

* The present reviewer has therefore endeavoured to utilise fiction as a medium for the presentation of a picture of Moorish life and thought, more complete than would have otherwise been possible, in an as yet unpublished novel, *Sons of Ishmaël*.

much contemporary writing. The best-known play to which it gave rise is Peele's *Tragicall Battell of Alcazar in Barbarie*, on which both Shakespeare and Ben Jonson poured contempt. It displays the usual amount of information with regard to things Moorish, a greater interest attaching to the presence of the Englishman Stukeley, who is made to say:—

> "In England's London Lordings was I borne,
> On that braue Bridge, the barre that thwarts the Thames."

The interest aroused in Stukeley's fate called forth later an anonymous *Play of Stucley*, in which the same characters appear, but it consists chiefly of fragments of older plays adapted and interwoven. The fifth act was to have dealt with the African adventures, but before he reached that part the author or compiler apparently grew weary of his task, which remains incomplete.*

White (Edward). 1579.

A ballad had already been licensed to Edward White, which contained *A Brief Rehearsal of the Bloody Battle in Barbary*. The interest it excited was sufficient to make the author of a reply to Stephen Gosson's *School of Abuse*, published in the same year, entitle his defence of the stage, music and dancing, *Strange News out of Afric*.

Dryden.

A century later Dryden utilised the tragic events of that day in his *Don Sebastian*, suggested, doubtless, by Peele's play. Of this production Saintsbury remarks, in his edition of Dryden: "It is a separate objection that the manners of the age and country are not adhered to. . . . But what is worse, the manners of Mohammedans are shockingly violated. Whoever heard of human sacrifices, or of any sacrifices, being offered up to Mohammed? or when were his followers able to use the classic and learned allusions which occur

* See *The School of Shakspere*, by Richard Simpson.

throughout the dialogue?" As an instance of this last peculiarity, Addison observes that "Ovid seems to have been Mulay-Moluch's favourite author, witness the lines that follow:—

> "'She, still inexorable, still imperious,
> And loud, as if, like Bacchus, born in thunder.'"

The great essayist continues: "I shall conclude my remarks on his part with that poetical complaint of his being in love, and leave my reader to consider how prettily it would sound in the mouth of an Emperor of Morocco:—

CONTEMPORARY IDEA
OF
MULAI ABD ALLAH V., 1729–1757.
(From Troughton)

> "'The god of love once more has shot his fires
> Into my soul, and my whole heart receives him.'"

Settle (Elkanah). *London*, 1673.

The Empress of Morocco, a play by Settle—the "Doeg" of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*—was mercilessly criticised by Dryden and Duffet, the latter publishing a parody with the same title in the following year. Settle's production, which was nevertheless a great success, doubtless owed much to its

appearance during the British occupation of Tangier, but it is now highly prized among dramas as "the first ever printed with cuts."

Of Morocco it tells absolutely nothing, its only "local flavour" being the distorted Arabic names of the characters, who include the usual assortment of "Villains, Lords, Messengers, Priests, Masquers, and other Attendants," in a story of court intrigues and love affairs, certainly most un-Moorish. Dryden criticised not Settle's language only, but also his facts, such as his making a "glorious fleet of ships sail up the Tansîft," to which Settle replied that the Tansîft was "a river held as great as the Thames, and as navigable!" Duffet's parody dealt with *Morena the Applewoman, Empress of Morocco, and Labas the Corn-cutter.** It concludes with the classic verses:—

"Rose-mary's green;
Rose-mary's green;
Derry derry down:
When I am king,
You shall be queen;
Derry derry down."

In 1682 Settle again availed himself of passing events in this country, when his *Heir of Morocco* was produced at the Theatre Royal, but this play was rather Algerian than Moroccan, although dealing with "the Usurper Guyland." About the same time the Spanish dramatist Calderon (P., de la Barca). 1682. Calderon produced *El Principe Constante y Martyr de Portugal*, "one of his most remarkable dramas," dealing with the slavery of Europeans in this country. He also wrote a play based on the conversion of a Moorish prince to Christianity,† entitled, *Magnus Princeps.*

* A booklet published under the title of *The Queen of Morocco* is but the story of a geranium, possessor of that royal name.

† See chapter xv., p. 321.

Conailhac (Jean J. L.). *Paris*, 1844.

It was long before another Moorish play appeared upon the boards. This was a piece entitled *Les jolies filles au Maroc*, by Conailhac. The subject of the next production was the martyrdom of the beautiful Jewess, Sol Hachuel, who had some years before preferred death at Fez to apostasy and a place in the shareefian hareem.* Her story was dramatised by Antonio Calle, under the title of *La Heroina Hebrea*. From this to the fantastic distortions of *Morocco Bound*, too recent a travesty to require description, is another long leap, but there is nothing to fill in the gap. It is a great misfortune that such incorrect ideas of Morocco should be inculcated in place of facts. Why cannot playwrights lay their impossible scenes in countries born of their imagination, such as Brobdingnag and Lilliput? One unpublished tragedy exists, from the pen of Hall Caine, an adaptation of a story which at first was to have centred round Mohammed.

Calle (Antonio). *Seville*, 1852

Shelley.

Of the poets, Shelley at least might be supposed, in his *Witch of Atlas*, to deal with Morocco, but there is nothing more about this country in that "visionary rhyme" than its name. It was written near Pisa, on an expedition to a neighbouring mountain shrine, and Mrs. Shelley protested that it was equally devoid of human interest.

Mere allusions to Morocco of course abound in poetry, but of the few deserving notice here is that of our great epic master, whose Adam, from "a hill of Paradise the highest," saw "the hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken stretched out"—

Milton.

> "From Niger flood to Atlas Mount,
> The kingdoms of Almansor,† Fez and Sus,
> Morocco, and Algiers, and Tremisen."

* See *The Moors*, chapter xxiii. † Ahmad V., 1578–1603.

Tasso. Tasso only gave expression to the ignorance of his age with regard to Morocco—notwithstanding all that had been written on it even then, especially by Leo Africanus, whose work was published in Italian—when he wrote in *Il Gerusalemme Liberata*[1]:—

> "E costeggiar di Tingitana i lidi,
> Nutrice di leone e d'elefanti;
> C'or di Marocco é il regno quel de Fessa"—

information which must have been derived from Pliny, or from the "*leonum arida nutrix*" of Horace.[2]

Marlowe. Like Othello, the kings of "Moroccus and Fez" who crouched before *Tamburlaine the Great*, had "coal-black faces," as has been mentioned elsewhere,[3] and

Browning. even so modern a poet as Browning gives black arms to his "dear, foolish, golden-hearted Luria," "a Moor, of Othello's country,"—as he called him to "E.B.B."—the mercenary who delivers Florence, and would finish off the Duomo with a Moorish front, and paints him swarthy as if he had come from Central Africa. The classic misconception dies hard.

Bell. In a recent volume of poems Mr. Mackenzie Bell has some graphic lines on *A Sunday Morning off Mazagan.*

Didier (Charles). *Brussels*, 1840. The novelists who have dealt with Morocco are also few. The earliest I have discovered is Didier, whose *Thecla* purports to depict the life of foreigners in Tetuan during the last century.

Mayo (William S.). *London*, 1850. Ten years later an American, Dr. Mayo, perpetrated a tale of the "penny dreadful" species, entitled *The Berber, or the Mountaineer of the Atlas*, under the guise of "historical incidents well authenticated." Were it not for the author's explanation that one of his objects was "to introduce to the acquaintance

[1] l. 58, c. 21. [2] See *Bibliography*, p. 216. [3] p. 357.

of the reader a people who have played a most important part in the world's history, but of whom very few educated people know more than the name," his story might have passed with scant notice, but this declaration renders it necessary to add that Dr. Mayo knew little more than his prospective readers, and he does not introduce a genuine Moor or Berber. The leading parts are played by captives from Spain, or by Europeanised natives, even the slave-girl prating in the jargon of *Uncle Tom's Cabin!* It is almost a pity he did not act on the title of his previous essay in fiction, *Never Again!*

[Perdicaris] (Ion). *London*, 1887.

The next Moroccan story appeared anonymously, but was also the work of an American. *Mohammed Benáni* scarcely deserves the name of a novel, being rather a thinly disguised, but highly fantastic, account of a struggle between its author—if, indeed, several hands were not engaged in its production—and his consul-general.* Its ostensible object was the abolition of the system of protecting natives of Morocco, so fraught with abuse, but it also served to air some of the peculiar views held by Mr. Perdicaris with regard to mesmerism and spiritualism. Viewed as a whole, *Mohammed Benáni* must be held a literary failure, although parts of it are cleverly written. It contains no picture of Moorish life, and its natives are impossible.

"Mabel Collins" [Mrs. Cooke]. *London*, 1890.

Perhaps the worst tale ever told about this country is *Ida: an Adventure in Morocco*, by "Mabel Collins." The authoress paid a flying visit to Tangier and Tetuan as a newspaper correspondent, and in this story idealised herself and her experiences. It is without either plot or object, character delineation or verbal description. On arrival in Tangier the autobiographical heroine "pants with pleasure" in her thrice-

* The real names of most of the characters were given in *The Times of Morocco* of October 8th, 1887.

mentioned "keen, sensuous susceptibility," and forthwith three well-known local residents fall in desperate love with her, a situation leading to a murder, etc., etc. No wonder people have strange ideas about Morocco, if they read such stuff.

Hall Caine. 2 vols. *London*, 1891.

It is refreshing to turn away from this trash to Hall Caine's masterly *Scapegoat*. Apart from its literary merits and powerful character-painting, the minutiæ which tell of native life, and form the "local atmosphere," are wonderfully accurate. In the course of a few weeks spent in this country, the practised eye of the novelist secured a marvellous grasp of the typical features of his surroundings, but unfortunately, so predominant are the shadows that his work presents far too sombre a picture. The dark side is exaggerated, and the bright side all but overlooked. Several impossible situations also are described, and though the story was recast for the second edition, they were retained as vital to the plot. Such are the joint procession of Jews and Muslims to plead for rain; the position of Katrina at the Básha's side in public; the mingling of men and women in the Shesháwan prison; the education of 'Ali as an Israelite; his nondescript schoolmaster; and the behaviour of the sultan at the banquet, and subsequently as a quack; while a historical error is the presence of 'Abd er-Raḥmán at the capture of Tetuan, at the time of which he had been dead three months. Lest they too should be considered features of Morocco life, it may be well to point out that Mohammed of Mequinez could not have been a ḳáḍi at the time of his appearance, although he had been such before; nor are Europeans permitted to visit Shesháwan, the few who have done so having ventured in disguise.* And I have never heard of a Moor who disobeyed the precepts of his creed by wearing jewellery; nor does the wandering Arab

* See *The Land of the Moors*, chapter xvii.

use a tripod. The position of this work as the only published Moroccan novel worth reading—"though less novel than romance, and less romance than poem," in its author's words—and its general fidelity, render it important to correct these few misleading features.*

Stutfield (Hugh M.). *London*, 1891.

The nature of Stutfield's pseudo-Moroccan novel, *Brethren of Mount Atlas, being the first part of an African Theosophical Story*, is sufficiently indicated by its title. "It utilises the Mahatmas, Gurus, and so forth . . . in a story of a journey to Pliny's Mount Atlas," but in its earlier chapters embodies personal notes from the author's *1200 Miles' Ride Through Marocco*. Once its heroes cross the Atlas—which they appear to do without more difficulty than arises from bad roads and robbers—they are in an enchanted world, where criticism fails, as also does the thread of the story.

Dawson (A. J.). *London*, 1898.

Last year was published the second of the only two novels which make a serious attempt to depict Moorish life—Dawson's *Bismillah*. So much labour has evidently been expended on this tale, that it would be hard on the reader who seeks entertainment alone to say that the people it pictures speak not so, and think not so, for it is well designed, and well told. But to the student of Morocco it must needs be said that notwithstanding the abundant local colour and the somewhat studied style—which imparts a Biblical, if not an Oriental, flavour—the scenes described are not Moorish, and even in transparently reflected details the writer is often quite at sea, while his names even are seldom Moorish.

The resemblance to Moorish life of the life here imagined

* Perhaps I may be permitted to add that in a letter to *The Academy*, in acknowledging the justice of my criticisms in that paper of these points, Mr. Hall Caine courteously expressed his indebtedness "to the graphic and accurate sketches" of Moorish life which I had contributed for some years previously to *The Times of Morocco*, which have since found their place in my work on *The Moors*.

lies entirely on the surface, representing its impression on a stranger, but the manner in which quasi-Moorish effects are interwoven is exceedingly ingenious. It is a temptation to contrast a work like this, in which, with tesseræ more often true than false, an incorrect effect is produced, with such a style as that of Turner or Pierre Loti, in which the effect is marvellously true from details quite inaccurate. Nevertheless, *Bismillah* deserves more praise than the narrow limits of the standard by which it is here judged permit it to claim.

Porter (Jane). *London*, 1880.

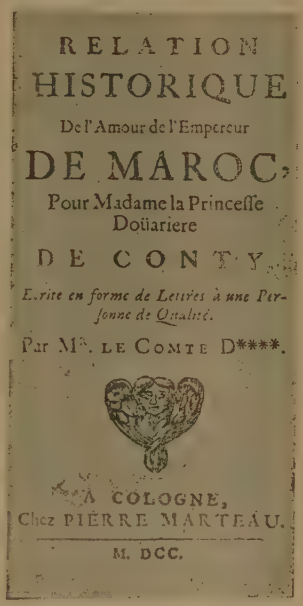
In *The Pastor's Fireside* Miss Jane Porter availed herself of the astonishing adventures of Ripperda amid scenes which she supposed were Moorish, in which tragedy and chivalry played most unwonted parts. The chameleon statesman here appears as Aben Humeya, in which guise he recovers Laraiche from the Spaniards and dies at Tetuan, though in real life he did neither. Fact is here used to introduce fancy, but in the remaining novel, part of the scenes of which lie in Morocco, fancy reigns supreme. In the *Warstock*, "a Tale of to-morrow; a sensational Story of Wireless Telegraphy and War," the creations of Mr. Gerrare's brain, by the expenditure of a million dollars in presents, etc., secure a settlement in Sûs, where they establish themselves and build "Port Cristal." This is described as presenting "along the north shore a wide quay and boulevards, the white walls of factories, bright cupolas, chimney stacks like minarets, dome kilns, and long workshops with verandahs and gardens; on the summit the conning tower, the capitol, and the arsenal," which arsenal eventually disposed of the whole concern by exploding. The author possibly spent a day rolling "off the bar" of some Moorish port, and picked up a few local names, but it is doubtful whether even one of the Forwood captains would undertake to visit Port Cristal,

Gerrare (Wirt). *London*, 1898.

or the *Tourmaline* adventurers to indicate the site suggested by their escapade.

Harding Davis (Richard). *New York*, 1894.

Quite of a different class is the bald attempt at sensation made by Harding Davis in a series of impossible tales contributed to American magazines, and republished as *The Exiles*, which attribute to Tangier a class of foreign riff-raff whom existing treaties and consular courts would never tolerate in Morocco.


RELATION
HISTORIQUE
De l'Amour de l'Empereur
DE MAROC,
Pour Madame la Princeſſe
Doüariere
DE CONTY.
Ecrite en forme de Lettres à une Perſonne de Qualité.
Par Mr. LE COMTE D****.
A COLOGNE,
Chez PIERRE MARTEAU.
M. DCC.

There is still another class of fiction, or fact interwoven with fiction, which deals with Morocco, purporting to be narratives of personal experiences, generally as slaves or castaways. To this class belongs the *Relation historique de l'Amour de l'Empereur de Maroc*, a dainty little anonymous volume of letters, purporting to recount with fidelity the incidents connected with the proposal of Mulai Ismâil for a daughter of Louis XIV.

[Marteau] (Pierre). *Cologne*, 1700.

"Captain Boyle" [Chetwynd]. *London*, 1726.

One of the earliest, the *Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle*—but really by one Robert Chetwynd—"intermix'd with the Story of Mrs. Villars, an English Lady, with whom he made his surprizing Escape from Barbary," etc., etc., "full of various and amazing Turns of Fortune"—ran through six editions between 1726 and 1762—an edition having appeared as recently as 1828, while a French translation was issued in 1730. It is of the good old style of fictitious narrative,

cast in a mould which might cause many to consider it genuine, in spite of a considerable dash of exaggeration. No doubt most of these tales—those of *Robinson Crusoe*, if not of *Gulliver*, among them—had a substratum of fact. Few "travellers' tales" of that omnivorous period were free from a suspicion of "intermix'd" fancy, and even the

Ripperda's "*Memoirs.*" *London*, 1740.

Memoirs of the Duke of Ripperda—sometime Dutch Ambassador to Spain, sometime Spanish Premier, and sometime Commander-in-Chief of the Moorish army—are "interspers'd with several curious particulars," which can only be classed as fiction.

Wyatt (James). *London*, 1748.

The Life and Surprizing Adventures of James Wyatt, while doubtless based on fact, is a much less satisfactory compilation, though it passed through six editions in seven years. On the other hand,

1769.

the anonymous narrative of *The Female Captive* was the true story of a Mrs. Crisp, captured by Salli rovers on her way from Gibraltar to London. Another anonymous captive's account of a *Voyage dans les États*

1785.

barbaresques is nothing more than a concocted story to catch the market, and must be set down among the spurious productions; so also must the earlier *Several*

"Boyde." 1730.

Voyages to Barbary, attributed wrongly by some to Captain Henry Boyde, who only supplied the plates to the plagiarist Morgan. It is practically adapted from De la Faye.

[Alby] (Ernest). "A. de France." *Paris*, 1853.

Some of the events of the war between France and Morocco in 1844 were utilised by Ernest Alby—under the pseudonym "A. de France"—for expanding an earlier work under the new title of *Les Vêpres Marocaines*, but his picture is extremely fanciful.

Lavayssière (P.). *Limoges*, 1865–82.

Of even less merit is a series of five brochures, the publication of which, under the title of *Stations dans l'Empire du Maroc*, extended over a number of years.

"Damberger" (Christian F.). *Leipzig*, 1801.

Damberger's *Travels in the Interior Parts of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Morocco*, of which one German, one French, and three English editions were issued within a year or two, must also be included in the category of fiction. "Though in some respects comparable with the writings of Defoe, it is now known to have been, to use Isaac Disraeli's language, 'the ideal voyage of a member of the German Grub Street about his own garret,'" having been the compilation of a Wittemberg printer named Taurinius. It is, nevertheless, replete with important facts, albeit borrowed.

[Rose] (Benjamin). "Robert Adams." *London*, 1816.

The *Narrative of Robert Adams*, "a sailor who was wrecked on the western coast of Africa in 1810; was detained three years in slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several months in the city of Timbuctoo"—long since known to have been compiled by one Benjamin Rose, wrecked on the coast of Morocco in 1811—contains much valuable information which at that time formed, in the words of Gråberg, "the best which we as yet possess relative to that famous city, thanks to the notes and observations of Mr. Dupuis."* The Appendix is full of excellent geographical and ethnographical matter relating to Morocco. For years the controversy as to the authenticity of this work waxed furious; the impostor "Adams"—who was a sharp observer, and had collected many interesting details from the natives, whose language he acquired—was defended warmly by Sir Joseph Banks and others, and as late as 1829 by the *Quarterly Review*. The question was set at rest by Gråberg only after many years of agitation.† Rose was the De Rougemont of his day.

* British Vice-Consul at Mogador, who believed the story, and supplied memoranda for its elucidation.

† See the epitome of the evidence given in the *Bibliography of Morocco*, Art. 511.

Scott (Alexander). *Edinburgh,** 1821.

The example set by Rose was less successfully followed by Alexander Scott, the account of whose captivity extended to six years, he, like "Adams," pretending to have reached the Niger. But his whole narrative is untrustworthy. This concludes the list of more or less fictitious records dealing with Morocco, but there still remains a forecast to be noticed, *La Conquista de Marruecos en el Año 1893*, *Madrid*, 1891. a fanciful brochure "of the *Battle of Dorking* type," not calling for comment.

* *Philosophical Journal*, vol. iv., No. vii.

III.

JOURNALISM IN MOROCCO

A CENTURY ago "a late eloquent writer remarked that 'the ancients did not, like Archimedes, want a spot on which to fix their engines, but they wanted an engine to move the moral world.' *The press is that engine!* To the want of it may be fairly attributed the ignorance, the stupidity, the slavery of the African nations. The art of printing is unknown in Barbary."[1]

A correspondent of a Scotch newspaper, commenting in 1873 on the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information as to the trade of this country, wrote: "Let anyone at home attempt to get such information from any books hitherto published, and they will find how inadequate are all the resources of information. *The absence of the printing press*—the absence of everything in the shape of a newspaper—causes the history of the place to be washed away by the waves of time, and the only record of the place is found in the records of the passing visitor, who must necessarily tinge his story from his own standpoint, or clothe his account in the borrowed colours of his informant." Now a better state exists. The Press has been established in the Empire, and through its means the outside world is learning of the immense natural advantages possessed by Morocco, and of the great disadvantages under which it labours.

Before the Dawn.

To Mr. Gregory T. Abrines, originally of Gibraltar, is

[1] JACKSON, Preface.

due the honour of introducing the Press into this Empire. The first printing office was opened by him in 1880, and on January 28th, 1883, he established the first newspaper in Morocco, *Al-moghreb Al-aksa*, which continues under his direction. It was at first a Spanish weekly, but its title is the Arabic for "The Far West," the native name of this country. In March 1893 it was amalgamated with *The Times of Morocco*—from the direction of which the writer then retired—and it has since appeared in English.

Introduction of the Press.

A news-sheet had, indeed, been issued in the Spanish camp at Tetuan in 1860, under the direction of Sr. Don. P. A. de Alarcon, with the title of *El Eco de Tetuan*, which was intended to contain the history of the war then in progress, but it appeared only once. Again, in 1881 there was published in Ceuta a solitary number of *El Berberisco*, designed for a comic weekly. Although appearing in Morocco, these ventures, like the short-lived *Eco de Ceuta*, cannot rightly be considered as belonging to Moroccan journalism. This latter publication was proscribed in 1886 for commenting on the weak state of the garrison of Ceuta, but it was ultimately allowed to pursue its course under the censorship of the governor. Even this was avoided, a few months later, when it was replaced by *Africa*, produced at the same press.

Spanish Exotics.

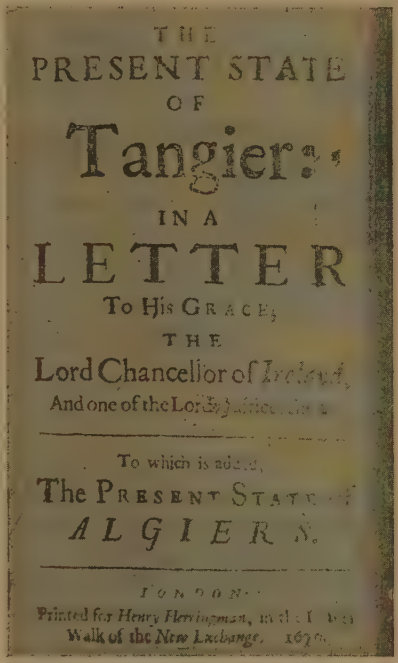
The second newspaper established on Moroccan territory was the French weekly, *Le Réveil du Maroc*, also from Mr. Abrines' press, which appeared on July 14th, 1883. The late Mr. Levi A. Cohen, a native of Morocco, but a naturalised British subject, was its first proprietor and editor, but it has several times changed hands.

A French Publication.

In the following year, on July 5th, *The Times of Morocco* was founded by an Englishman attracted some months earlier to Tangier in search of health, the late

"The Times of Morocco."

Mr. Edward E. Meakin. His editorial duties were subsequently shared by the present writer, his son, who eventually succeeded him when absence in England and failing health prevented his retaining the post. His object in incurring what proved a financial burden, as well as a serious task, had been to afford the natives a medium for the exposure of abuses committed by Europeans availing themselves of Moorish corruption, and to arouse a greater interest abroad in the development of Morocco. Unable to express himself with sufficient freedom while employing the press of Mr. Abrines, after thirteen monthly issues Mr. Meakin determined to import a press of his own. Accordingly, on January 16th, 1886, his paper re-appeared from "The English Press,"* and was published thenceforward weekly.†


THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
Tangier:
IN A
LETTER
To His GRACE,
THE
Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
And one of the Lords Justices there.

To which is added,
The PRESENT STATE of
ALGIERS.

LONDON:
Printed for Henry Herringman, at the Sign of the
Walk of the New Exchange. 1676.

OLD-TIME MOROCCO NEWS.

* The imposition of quarantine on vessels from Gibraltar while negotiations with a printer of that town were pending, necessitated the erection of the press, the laying of cases (of course after an original system), and the publication of an issue (No. 14), entirely by the hands of amateurs, none of whom had any previous knowledge of printing beyond a toy press—and some of whom were ladies—without teacher or book of instructions, and before the arrival of many of the appliances usually considered necessary.

† A complete file exists in the British Museum Library.

In the autumn of 1885 a tiny would-be-comic publication, *La Africana*, made its *début*, but after fifteen weekly issues ceased. It re-appeared a few months later, to amuse the Tangerine public with two cartoons, and sink into final oblivion. In the early part of 1886 a third press was set up in Tangier, also by a British subject, Mr. Augustin Lúgaro, who, with the able assistance of Mr. Isaac Laredo, immediately started *El Eco Mauritano*, a Spanish weekly, which he now produces twice a week. No sooner was this publication afloat than another appeared, this time in French, announced as a fortnightly, *Le Commerce au Maroc*, edited in the interests of Germany, but printed in O'ran. After seven issues had arrived it was bought up and suppressed. The next apparition, *La Duda del Progreso Marroquí*, was to have been published monthly, as a "review," and its only two numbers afforded great amusement by the evident lack of education on the part of its contributors. The one idea of Tangier politicians of that period seemed to be to become journalists, with fond illusions as to influence and wealth. Attempts were made about this time to bring out Hebrew and Arabic papers, and arrangements were completed for the publication of a *Morocco Guardian*, to rival *The Times of Morocco*, but they too came to nought.

Journalistic Apparitions.

In 1887 the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in Tangier commenced the issue of an interesting monthly *Boletin*, and shortly afterwards *La Linterna* was established as a Spanish comic weekly, meeting with but brief success, and developing into *El Diario de Tanger* in 1890. This was the first attempt at a daily paper in Morocco, and for some years it pluckily maintained its existence under various editors. *El Emperio de Marruecos*, an illustrated fortnightly of considerable merit, which appeared in 1889, was a more ambitious venture,

The First Daily Paper.

but it only lived a few months. In the same year *El Maghrib*, the first Arabic journal in Morocco, was published, but in a little more than a year it also succumbed. *Kol Israel* was an Arabic weekly, in Hebrew characters, which started on a brief and uncertain career in 1891. Last of all, in 1893, came *La Crónica de Tanger*, issued bi-weekly from "The English Press," and this, with *Al-moghreb Al-aksa*, *Le Révcil du Maroc*, and *El Eco Mauritano*, alone survive.

Such are, or have been, the various periodicals published within the limits of the Moorish Empire, and all have boldly attacked abuses which abound in this dark land. But the Press in Morocco could not expose wrong-doers without incurring vengeance from the powerful individuals whose policy and actions it had assailed. In 1885 the acting Moorish Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Sid Ḥáj Mohammed Ṭorres, was applied to by certain Foreign Ministers to suppress the Press in Morocco. His Excellency accordingly threatened that if the Tangier papers continued "their attacks on the Moorish Government and the Foreign Ambassadors to Morocco," their suppression would be demanded. This message was transmitted by the British Consul to the editors of the three papers then existing—all, by a strange coincidence, British subjects. The only notice taken was a reference to their files, where their accusers were challenged to find an attack on the Moorish Government, or one on a Foreign Minister which was not made on behalf of the Moors. It may be mentioned that it is not in the power of the Moorish Government to interfere with the Tangier Press, as foreigners are permitted by treaty to carry on any occupation which is lawful in their own countries.

Attempted Suppression.

Twelve months after the failure of this attempt the representatives of civilised nations met again to consider the

arrogance of the Press in Morocco, and to devise means to stifle it, but the project was successfully opposed by the more enlightened members of the Diplomatic Body, and the Press in Morocco still lives.

IV.

WORKS ON MOROCCO RECOMMENDED

NO attempt is here made at completeness; the object is only to indicate what to look for among the preceding reviews, or in the *Bibliography*, the subject index of which is ample for that purpose.

THE ARABIC OF MOROCCO.

Baldwin, *Dialogues.**[1]

Budgett Meakin, *An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco*, (Romanised Vocabulary and Grammar Notes).*[1]

Dombay, *Grammatica Linguæ Mauro-Arabicæ.*

Lerchundi, *Rudimentos del Arabe Vulgar de Marruecos.**[2]

„ *Vocabulario Español-Arabico del Dialecto de Marruecos.**

GENERAL DESCRIPTIONS.

Bonelli.
Calderon.
Castellanos.*
Chenier.
Erckmann.
Ganniers.*
Gråberg.
Höst.
Jackson.
Leo Africanus.*
Marmol.
Urrestazu.

LOCAL DESCRIPTIONS.

Fez, Delphin.
Laraiche, De Cuevas.
Mequinez, Houdas.*
Oojda, Canal.*
Roman Province, Tissot.*
„ „ Göbel.
Saffi, De Cuevas.
Spanish Possessions, Pezzi.*
„ „ Perez del Toro.*
„ „ Galindo.*
Tafilalt, Harris (ii.).*
Wazzán, Spence Watson.*
„ De Cuevas.

* An asterisk distinguishes volumes of recent publication still to be obtained through the usual channels.

[1] These may be obtained of Quaritch, Piccadilly, or of "The English Press," Tangier.

[2] An English translation by Mr. MacIver MacLeod, of Fez, is in the press.

LOCAL HISTORIES.

Fez, "Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás."*
Mazagan, Da Cunha.*
Tangier, De Menezes.
Ceuta, Prado.

DESCRIPTIONS OF TRAVEL.

"Ali Bey."*
Caillé.
Colville.*
CunninghameGraham.*
De Foucauld.*
Harris (ii).*
Hind-Smith.
Hodgkin.
Hooker and Ball.*
Johnstone and Cowan.
Lemprière.
Lenz.*
Martinière.*
Montbard.*
Rey.
Richardson.
Rohlfs.*
Spence Watson.*
Stutfield.*
Thomson.*
Urquhart.

ACCOUNTS OF EMBASSIES.

Amicis.*
Armand.
Augustin.
Braithwaite.
Charmes.*
Frejus.
Keatinge.
Leared (ii).*
"Loti."*
Marcet.*
Merry y Colomb.
Ravn.
St. Amant.
St. Olon.
Trotter.*
Villa-Urrutia.*
Windus.

NARRATIVES OF SLAVES AND RANSOMERS.

Busnot.
Dan.
Desmay.
De la Faye.
D'Angers.*
[Maurville.]
Mouëtte.
[Nolasque.]
Ockley.
Pellow.*
Phelps.
Troughton.

FOREIGN HISTORIES.

Baeumen.
Busnot.
Chenier.
Castellanos.*
Godard.*
Gråberg.
Hardman.
Mas Latrie.*
Mercier.*
Mouëtte.
Puerto.
Ro. C.
Schlagintweit.
Torres.
Thomassy.

ARABIC HISTORIES, ETC.

Ibn 'Abd el Ḥákim, 690–750.
El 'Arîb, *cir.* 950.
'Abd el Wáḥḥîd el Marrákeshi, 1149–1224.
El Mokri, 788–1240.
Ibn Ḵhallikán, 690–1260.
"Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás," 788–1326.*
En-Náṣiri, 710–1894.*
En-Nawîri (Noweiri), 648–1330.
Ibn Adhári, *cir.* 1350.
Ibn Ḵhaldûn, 648–1400.*
El Mākkári, 710–1500.*
El Ufráni, 1524–1648.*
Ez-Zaïáni. 1631–1812.*

ARABIC DESCRIPTIONS, ETC.

El Istakhri, *cir.* 920.
Ibn Haûkal, 976.
El Bakri (Bekri), *cir.* 1050.
El Idreesi (Edrisi), 1100.
Ibn el Wardi (Ouardi), 1232.
Abu'l Fîda, 1320.
Ibn Baṭûṭa, 1355.
Leo Africanus, 1550.*

FICTION.

Boyle's *Adventures.*
Dawson, *Bismillah.**
Hall Caine, *The Scapegoat.**
Mayo, *Mountaineer of the Atlas.*
Meakin, *Sons of Ishmaël.*
Perdicaris, *Mohammed Benani.**
Stutfield, *Brethren of Mount Atlas.**

APPENDIX

CLASSICAL AUTHORITIES ON MOROCCO

(Revised from the *Bibliography of Morocco.*)

ALL the writers before 500 B.C. were mere speculators or poets, whose geography, like that of Homer, may be regarded as purely mythical. The island of Lotophagi may be—perhaps is—the modern Djerba, off the coast of Tunis; but his Atlas has nothing to do with the mountain range of that name. Hecatæus, however, enables us for the first time in ancient literature to touch solid ground, fragmentary though the literary relics which have come to us undoubtedly are. He seems to have been a traveller himself, and a diligent, though not always critical, collector of travel tales.

Hecatæus *of Miletus.* *Cir.* 520 B.C.

He mentions in Barbary, the Mazyes and Zygantes, tribes living near the Tritonian Lake, and the same as those subsequently referred to by Herodotus as the Maxyes and Gygantes. He knew Metagonium, near the Pillars of Hercules, perhaps Cabo de Agua (Rás Sidi Bashir), if this was the same place which Strabo knows under this name, and Thinga, or Tinga, or Tingis (the modern Tangier). It is also not improbable, as Sir Edward Bunbury suggests in his admirable *History of Ancient Geography*,* that his river Liza was identical with the Lixus of later geographers, though this name was so vaguely applied that the question must remain a moot one.

Identification.

* Vol. i., p. 144.

How far Hanno sailed down the west coast is a disputed point among the commentators. Gosselin * refused to believe that he reached further than Cape Nûn, an utterly untenable view, which was adopted by Walckenaer.† Rennell and more modern writers, including Mr. Griffiths, the late Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone, were inclined to put Sherboro Sound, just south of Sierra Leone, as his southern limit. It is certain that there are no rivers north of Cape Nûn—in Morocco—which contain crocodiles and hippopotami, far less "hairy men and women" to which we still apply his name of "Gorilla," perhaps the sole Punic word which is as familiar in London as it was in Carthage, though the apes he saw were more probably chimpanzees. But it is not quite so certain that the river was the Senegal. Too much importance must not be attached to Hanno's description of the "streams of fire" and the "pillars of fire" which he saw in passing down the coast. They might have been bush-fires, the natives still igniting the long grass in the autumn, signals to give warning of strangers' approach, or volcanic eruptions. If so, no part of the country about either Sierra Leone or Senegal had a volcano within historical times. But there is no range here fit to be called Θεῶν Ὄχημα—the "Chariot of the Gods" —which Ptolemy more accurately places on the site of the Cameroons Peak, and there is no Νότου Κέρας, or Horn of the South, capable of being identified with Sherboro Sound. Accordingly, Sir Richard Burton ‡ is probably right in thinking that we must extend Hanno's voyage to Corisco, in the Bight of Benin. But there is no doubt as to his geography of Mauretania.

Hanno *the Carthaginian.* *Cir.* 470 B.C.

Hanno's Limits.

After leaving the Straits of Hercules (Gibraltar), they sailed for two days and founded a colony at Θυμιαθήριον, which must be near the site of Salli or Rabat, and is perhaps Mehedia.

* *Recherches sur la Géographie systématique et positive des Anciens*, vol. i. pp. 70–106.

† *Recherches sur la Géographie de l'Afrique*, p. 362.

‡ *To the Gold Coast for Gold*, vol. i., p. 311.

The Periplus.

Mr. Budgett Meakin suggests the now deserted town of Tît, near Mazagan, as the site of this settlement.* Then they came to the headland of Soloeïs—Σολόεις ἄκρα—where they erected a temple to Poseidon (Neptune). This promontory is usually identified with Cape Cantin, though that headland is nowadays not λάσιον δένδρεσι; it is in fact bare of trees. M. Vivien de Saint Martin,† unaware of this fact, was struck with the correspondence of the old Carthaginian admiral's account with modern realities. For he tells us, as no doubt some imaginative person had told him, that the Moors still call the promontory Rás el Hadîk, the Cape of Palms. In reality there is not a palm anywhere near it, except a few close to a Muslim sanctuary now in ruins. M. Tissot assures us that the name Ras el Hadîk is absolutely unknown to the natives, as well as the meaning applied to the term. The cape is called Rás Kantîn. That word, M. Tissot thinks, is applied in the same sense that the Punic word Soloeïs was; since it seems to be used to designate (in the singular) one of the most remarkable cliffs of the Rîf—namely, the Rás Ḳant ez-Zît. Mr. Consul White of Tangier, however, points out to us that Rás Kantîn is spelt with a k, whereas Ḳant ez-Zît begins with a ḳ. As it is difficult to effect a landing on this dangerous coast, it is probable that Hanno's men disembarked near where the fishing hamlet of Beddûza now stands.

After half a day's voyage they came to a large lake or marsh. No such place now exists, the lagoons which characterise the coast of Morocco being all to the north of Cape Cantin. South of it the shore is either guarded by cliffs, steep slopes, or stony and sandy beaches. Nor is there any sign of such a lake or marsh having existed; and the sudden winter rains which make every dry watercourse roar from bank to bank, are not of a character fit to cause floods likely to be mistaken for a marsh or lake Saffi is, however, the spot

Coast Alterations.

* This suggestion was not intended for publication, being merely a conjecture in case, as appears very probable, the distances recorded were all of them very much less than those actually traversed.—B. M.

† *Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité*, p. 363.

near which we must look for the locality described by Hanno. Unless, therefore, he mixed up his facts, or they have been blundered in transcription by his historians, it is allowable to believe that the coast-level has altered in the course of twenty-three centuries. Of this indeed there is ample evidence From Tangier to Mogador there are old sea-beaches at the height of from 40 to 70 feet, and the lagoons north of Rabat are distinctly due to an elevation of this kind. There may have been sinking also; in which case Saffi Bay would in Hanno's day have been a marsh, lake, or lagoon, and the Tensift river-mouth an estuary. The herds of elephants and other wild animals surrounding it are less difficult to understand, since these animals, though not now found north of the Sáhara, were even in Pliny's day—more than four hundred years later—abundant in the forests of the Atlas.

After leaving this lake the Carthaginians founded five coast towns, Caricon Teikhos, Gytta, Akra, Melitta, and Arambys (Καρικὸν Τεῖχος, καὶ Γύττην, καὶ Ἄκραν, καὶ Μέλιτταν, καὶ Ἀραμβυν), which we now try in vain to identify, unless, indeed, Arambys is Agadîr, a Berber word meaning a protecting wall. It is, however, applied to several other places. The full name of this one is Agadîr-Ighîr. A large river called Lixus (Λίξος) was their next halting-place. This is, of course, not the Lixus of later geographers (namely, the modern El Ḳûs). It is probably the Sûs River or the Drâa. The people on its banks were herdsmen, and friendly; but the interior, according to these Lixitæ, was an inhospitable land, full of wild beasts, and intersected by high mountains, in which the river rose and the Troglodytes or cave-dwellers lived. The mountains he might easily have seen for himself, since a spur of the Lesser Atlas reaches the sea at Agadîr, and on a clear day, as one of the compilers of this Bibliography (R. B.) can vouch from personal experience, near Cape Cantin the snowy peaks of the Great Atlas can be seen from the deck of a ship. Cerne, the island where they established a settlement which continued for a long time, was perhaps Kerne, in a deep bay at the mouth of the Rio de Oro, where the Spaniards have recently established them-

Phœnician Colonies.

selves: since apart from the fact that it is much too far north, there is no island near Agadîr, where it has been fixed by some commentators.*

The father of geography mentions Soloeïs, a name also given by Hanno and Scylax (*q. v.*), and by them meant to be the modern Cape Cantin, but Herodotus is thought to have intended to designate by this title Cape Spartel. This is the only spot he mentions on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and that he seems to have heard of from the Carthaginian mariners. But he had no personal acquaintance with this region, and indeed appears to have known next to nothing of Mediterranean Africa beyond what is now nominally the Regency of Tunis.

Herodotus. *Cir.* 443 B.C.

This writer knew little of the country beyond the Pillars of Hercules. But he knew Κώτης κόλπος μέγας, which is near Cape Spartel, though we can practically identify his Πολις ἐν ποταμῷ, a "city upon a river," as M. Tissot has hesitatingly done, with Tangier, if we accept the suggestion that old Tangier was further to the south-east of the bay upon what is now styled Wád el Ḥalḳ (Palate River), by the side of which the Roman dockyards, as the ruins show, were afterwards built. It is not so easy to conclude that the ποταμὸς was the Wád el Ḳaṣar (the Wád el Yám of El Bekri). His Ποντίων τόπος καὶ πόλις may be Hajarîn and Sharf el ʾAkáb; his Κηφησίας λίμνη μεγάλη, the low ground of Maharhar and Tahaddárt; his Ἑρμαῖα ἄκρα, Rás el Ḳûás; and the Ἄνιδης ποταμὸς καὶ λίμνη, the inferior course of the Wád el ʾAïásha. His Λίξος ποταμὸς is Wád El Kûs (Lukkos) and the Λίξος πόλις Φοίνικων the old city of Lixus, the favourite site with many of the Gardens of the Hesperides, which, though now represented by the modern Laraiche (El ʾAráïsh) has been clearly identified with the site of the wretched modern village of Shammîsh (Tchemmich) higher up the Ḳûs.

Scylax *of Caryanda.* 352–348 B.C.

The Πόλις Λιβύων, a native village, may have been where El ʾAráïsh is still, at the mouth of the river, while there is

* MÜLLER, *Geogr. Græci Minores*, vol. i., Prolegomena, p. xxvi.

Identification. little difficulty in accepting the Κράβις ποταμὸς καὶ λιμὴν as the Sebû river, one of the largest in Morocco; while his Θυμιατήρια was the same as Hanno's Θυμιατήριον, namely, Mehedîya. Scylax seems to have been acquainted with the west coast of Africa as far as the island of "Cerne." Cape Soloeïs* he describes as a promontory standing out boldly to the sea, and having an altar to Poseidon (Neptune) on its summit. This is the cape to which Hanno gives that name, so that Sir Edward Bunbury is perhaps justified in thinking that he derived his information about it from that navigator. At all events this part of his *Periplus* is evidently taken from Carthaginian sources. Between Cape Soloeïs and Cerne he places the river Xion (Ξιῶν ποταμός), which is evidently the Lixus of Hanno (the Sûs or perhaps the Drâa), though the Lixus of Scylax is quite as clearly Wád El Kûs, which Pliny and later geographers called by the name the Greek writer had given to it.† In those days there was a Phœnician town on one side of the river-mouth and a Libyan (Berber) one on the opposite shore. Scylax's own account is quoted by Aristotle, but seems to have been lost at an early period, the work which goes under his name being a compilation from various fragments which had survived in the writings of other authors, over some of whom Lethe has long since passed.

From the times of Herodotus to those of Polybius little was added to our knowledge of Morocco. Polybius, however, took advantage of the Roman wars against Carthage to glean a great deal of information, and though a Greek—a hostage sent to Rome after the second Macedonian War—he was enabled, through the friendship of Scipio Africanus, to make a voyage along the coast of Northern and Western Africa, of which voyage, unfortunately, we know nothing—Strabo not even mentioning it—except from the confused allusions to it in that most confused of compilers, Pliny. Polybius, no doubt, wrote the narrative, from which his successors obtained their data, but the original is now lost. We find in the second-hand account of it the name of Lixus and the

Polybius *of Megalopolis.* 145 B.C.

* See PLINY. † *Periplus*, § 112.

river Anatis, which may be the Um er-Rabîa. He mentions a point where the Atlas descends to the sea. This may be Cape Gîr, though the distance and other means of arriving at an opinion are too vague to decide; and though his "flumen Darat in quo crocodilos gigni" can hardly be any other river than Ptolemy's Daradus—the modern Drâa—there are no crocodiles in it, or in any other river of Morocco, nowadays.

The "sinum qui vocatur Sagvti" is that bend of the coast where the Carthaginians had most of their establishments—Sakharat of the Phœnicians; the "Counting House," according to Vivien de Saint Martin, or the "Gulf of Commerce"; or as Strabo and Ptolemy translate it, Ἐμπορικὸς κόλπος. A town, Mvlelacha, is placed on a promontory between the Lixus and the Subur (the modern Sebû): this, M. Tissot thinks, may be the Mulai Bû Selhám village on the Zerga lagoon, while the Portus Rutubis is the modern Mazagan; the flumen Sala is the Bû Ragrag, and the Portus Rissadir, Agadîr.

Vague Surmises.

It is permissible to guess, when all criticism is largely of this character, that the "flumen Cosenum" is the Wád Gisîr, which falls into the sea not far from Massa. The "flumen Masati Masatat" should be the Massa, and the "flumen Salsum" the Wád el-Mella, the Salt River literally, between the Drâa and the "River of Salt Water" of Riley's narrative. Surrentium, if the same as Ptolemy's Soloentia, is Cape Nûn, though both premisses and deductions are very feeble. Altogether the analysis of Polybius's *Periplus* is an unsatisfactory task. The Greek geographer had evidently heard or read of Hanno's voyage, and made some false identification of his places, *e.g.*, Lixus, etc. Polybius is, however, so bad a writer that perhaps Dionysius of Halicarnassus pronounced, in the first century before Christ, the same verdict which the critics of the nineteenth after him will be ready to utter—that, having neglected the graces of style, he has left work which "no one was patient enough to read through to the end" (περὶ συνθὲς ὀνομάτων). From this sweeping dictum his translators must, however, be excluded; and among them the celebrated Sir

Walter Raleigh, whose posthumous version of the war between the Carthaginians and the mercenaries was issued in 1647.

Sallust. 45 B.C.

As the friend of Cæsar, whom he accompanied on his African campaign, and Governor of Numidia, Caius Sallustius Crispus ought to have picked up, either personally or through trustworthy agents, much information regarding the neighbouring provinces of Mauretania. But he was no geographer, and the time he could spare from collecting notes for his account of the war with Jugurtha seems to have been spent in plundering the provincials of the wealth which enabled him, on returning to Rome, to lay out those famous "Horti Sallustiani" which were the wonder, and the scandal, of the Quirinal. Like Livy, whose histories are only large party pamphlets, he was proner to rhetoric than to exact data.

Not a Geographer.

Hence whatever might have been in his lost books, the works of Sallust which survive are disappointing to the geographer. He seems to have made some inquiries regarding the people of the interior, Gætulians and Libyans, part of whom wandered about and part lived in huts. Beyond them lived the Ethiopians, on the border of the desert burnt up by the blazing sun. The Medes, Persians and Armenians, masterless men owing to the death of Hercules in Spain (so he puts it), passed into Africa. The Persians by-and-by intermarried with the Gætulians and formed a mixed race called Numidians. The Medes became, by a corruption of their name, Mauri ("barbara lingua Mauros, pro Medis, appellantes"). These Mauri and Numidians, uniting their forces, extended their yoke over the neighbouring races, principally the Libyans, less warlike than the Gætulians. All this happened long before the Phœnicians founded their settlements. This is the gist of the puerile fables collected and recorded by Sallust. Yet in his usual careless way he may be collecting stories which, if analysed, would fit in with known facts. The tents of the Moroccan nomads, shaped like boats turned up, are not very different from the "mapalia" of the ancient Gætulians, which, according to Sallust, originated in the Persians living under the upturned vessels for lack of any other dwellings. This word, it may be remarked, closely

Curious Explanations.

resembles the Arabic word "mahálah," which means a camp or abode. Then, as Vivien de Saint Martin points out, Ibn Khaldûn mentions a tribe called Urmána, who at the time of the Arab invasion occupied part of Numidia; these may be the Armenians of Sallust. Again, the Medes are represented by the Medása, a Berber tribe mentioned by El Bekri, probably the modern Medása of Setîf. Again, the Medûna are a branch of the Mezáta; the Mediûna is another tribe not far from the Melwiya, in that part of the old Western Numidia afterwards known as Mauretania Cæsariensis. The Persians may be a corruption of the Pharsii, a people whose name became known after the time of Polybius, and who as the Beni Faraûsiï have their home between Bougie and Tedellis, and in the neighbouring region. The Geshtûlà, between Dellîs and Jurjura, have been identified with the Gætulians. Among other names in the scanty geographical repertory of Sallust (*ut supra*) we find the Mulucha—the modern Wád Melwîya—mentioned as the boundary between the kingdom of Bocchus and that of the Massæsylians, a tribe who in the time of Jugurtha were looked upon as belonging to Numidia.

Strabo knew little of this part of Africa, and that little seemed to have been derived from his predecessors. He dwells on the lions, panthers, and other wild beasts in the country, the abundance of elephants, and the rivers containing crocodiles like those of the Nile, with which he was well acquainted. He makes no mention of Juba's work, but cites Iphicrates, an author whose writings have not descended to us. The Carthaginian colony on the Libyan coast had by this time disappeared, for there was no permanent settlement further south than Λίγξ (near the modern Laraiche or El 'Aráïsh, though higher up the Kûs River, at Shammîsh), which he seems to confuse with Τίγγις or Tangier. The prolongation of the Atlas—Δύρις, according to the native nomenclature—throughout the whole extent of Mauretania was well known to him. The Gætulians he describes as the most important of the African nations, the Gætulians being evidently the modern Berbers

Strabo. 20 A.C.

Gætulian Berbers.

under their various divisions of Shlûḥs, Touaregs, etc. Among other localities mentioned by him which can be identified with reasonable accuracy, are the Μολοχάθ (the Melwîya); Μεταγώνιον, Cabo de Agua (Rás Sidi Bashîr); Ἀβίλη ὄρος, Jebel Belyûnish; Ἐλέφας, Jebel Mûsà, or Ape's Hill, often taken to be Abyle, the African Pillar of Hercules; Νησίδιον, Perejil Island (Jazîra Tâûra), between Ceuta and Tangier, occupied by the British during the period of the Peninsular War when Ceuta was held by them; while his Αἱ Κώτεις is Cape Spartel, and his Ζῆλις Azîla, while Ἐμπορικὸς κόλπος is, according to Tissot (with whom we agree), the curve of the coast-line between Laraiche and Mazagan.

Pliny's knowledge of Northern Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Egypt, was more accurate and extensive than that of any former geographer, though he is defective in the art of arranging his ample information and in critical acumen. Beyond Sala (Shella, near the site of the modern Rabat), like most of the early writers, his knowledge was vague. He, however, mentions Dyris as the native name of Atlas, one which perhaps is retained in the word "Dáren," or in the Idráren of the Berbers. He complains that the accounts of the interior were most contradictory, and purposely falsified, though the forests were being ransacked for "citrus," the modern "ârár" (or thuja, *callitris quadrivalvis*), a wood still much valued, and the shores for the materials yielding a purple dye, this being derived, most probably as at present, from the "orchil" lichen. He speaks—or quotes from Juba's MSS., to which he had access, Juba being king of all the territory to the Atlas—of the Asana river, one hundred and fifty Roman miles beyond Sala. This was doubtless the Anatis of Polybius, and the Um er-Rabîâ of the Moors. The Fut of Pliny (a river mentioned by the historian Josephus as Φούτος of several Greek writers) is the Tansîft. He also speaks of other navigable rivers and ports, the Tamuda, most likely the Martîl,[1] of the Melwîya ("Malvana fluvius navigabilis"), of the Mvlvcha

Pliny the Elder. 27–79 A.C.

Citrus and Purple.

[1] Lib. v. c. ii.

(Wád el Ḳûs), of the Wád Láû as navigable ("Flumen Laud et ipsum navigiorum capax"), and of Rusadîr (Agadîr).

The Fabled Hesperides.

At the mouth of Wád el Ḳûs near the site of Laraiche (El ʾAráïsh) he places[1] the Garden of the Hesperides, the windings of the river being the serpent which guarded the golden apples or oranges. Around ancient ruins in his day were palm groves and remains of vineyards, pointing to the existence of old Carthaginian settlements on the coast. But the most remarkable statement of Pliny is that Sala bordered on the untrodden desert which was infested by herds of elephants (animals not now extending north of the Sáhara), and by barbarians (Mauri) whom he calls Autololes, "Oppidum Sala ejusdem nominis fluvio impositum, jam solitudinibus vicinum, elephantorumque gregibus infestum, multo tamen magis Autololum gente."[2] He describes them being taken in pitfalls, so that it is probable, coupled with what Hanno says regarding this abundance on the Atlantic shore of Morocco, the Carthaginian war-elephants were from this region. More than one semi-fossil tusk has already been found in Algeria, and others may in time be unearthed when Morocco is examined geologically.

Pomponius Mela. 41.

As a native of Southern Spain, Pomponius Mela was naturally familiar with the Strait of Gibraltar. His birthplace was, he tells us (and that is about all we know of his personal history), Tingentera, probably the native name of the place called by Strabo, Julia Traducta, which had been peopled by colonists transported thither from Tingis (Tangier) in Mauretania. Mela himself says that Tingentera was inhabited by Phœnicians brought over from Africa. It is not unlikely now covered by the modern Tarifa, still, though from other causes, the most Moorish of all the towns of Andalusia.

The Pillars of Hercules.

He describes Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abyla (Ceuta, or perhaps Apes' Hill) as the two Pillars of Hercules, and shows himself perfectly familiar with the caves of the former rock. His statement that the Strait is ten miles broad at its narrowest is almost correct, for the distance

[1] Book v., c. i. [2] v. i., § 5.

between Tarifa and El Kasar Point is 9¼ geographical miles, Gibraltar and Ceuta being separated by 12 miles of sea. He notes the semi-isolation of Calpe; was well acquainted with the Promontory of Juno (Cape Trafalgar) on one side, and that of Ampelusia (the Koteis—Αἱ Κώτεις—of Strabo, the Cape Spartel or Rás Ashakkar of moderns) on the other. But, as M. Tissot has pointed out, it is doubtful whether his "specus Herculi sacer" was really the caverns now known as the Caves of Hercules, near that headland. These are chiefly the work of men excavating millstones. But in the Jebel Ashakkar there are some natural grottoes which more closely correspond to Mela's description.

From the time of Pliny to that of Ptolemy, though all the time the Romano-Grecian armies were making history, and the Roman and Greek colonists civilising, no writer arose who thought fit to collect the data which must by that time have been abundant regarding all parts of Northern Africa, including Morocco. The writings of Dionysius Pariegetes, Tacitus, and Marinus Tyrius, though abounding in particulars regarding other parts of the Empire, add little to our acquaintance with Mauretania Tingitana. Claudius Ptolemæus of Alexandria, however, embodied in his famous work a vast amount of knowledge, more detailed and more accurate than that of his predecessors, and, as Dr. Schlichter has shown, even for the more distant parts of Africa, more in accordance with modern information than could have been expected.[1]

Ptolemy. 160.

In Morocco he accurately describes Cape Gîr as a prominent headland formed by a spur from the main chain of the Atlas, and places the Subû (Σούβου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ) in almost the position of the Sûs River; and though his positions and relative distances are usually very far out, he shows familiarity with most of the settlements on the coast, on either side of Cotes (Κώτης ἄκρον) or Cape Spartel (the Ishbártel of El Bekri). His Daradus (Δάραδος) is no doubt intended for the Drâa, though he places its mouth much too far south; Arsinarium from the context—we agree

Random Topography.

[1] *Proc. R.G.S.*, 1891, p. 513.

with Sir Edward Bunbury—in regarding as Cape Juby, and Rissadium as Cape Bogador. This, however, from his loosely fixed positions is merely a choice between an identification which is not satisfactory and one which is most unsatisfactory. But that his Daradus is the Drâa is clear enough. This river, it may be recalled, was most probably the Lixus (Λίξος) of Hanno, the Ξιῶν of Scylax, and the Darat of Polybius.

Doubtful Identification.

His Τίγγις [ἥ καὶ] Καισαρεία is even more indisputably Tangier. Ζιλεία ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ is, according to Tissot, the Wád el Halû (the Wád Azîla of El Bekri); Ζιλία ἡ Ζιλεῖαι, Azîla; Λιξ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, the El Ḳûs (Lukkos); Αἴξ πόλις, Shammîsh; and Σάλα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, the Bû Ragrag, a river which flows into the Atlantic between Salli and Rabat. Σούβουρ M. Tissot regards as possibly Mehedîya; in which case Σούβουρ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ must be the Sebû (Ptolemy's). Σάλα πόλις is of course old Shella, near which the modern Rabat (Ribáṭ el Fataḥ, "Camp of Victory") is built. Δούον ἢ Δύον ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ is the Wád el Maláh or the Wád el Kántara, while his Ἄτλας ἐλάττων ὄρος describes the hills between Dár el Baïda (Casablanca) and Azammûr. M. Tissot, among other doubtful identifications, considers Cape Gir or Rás Afarni not the Ἄτλας μείζων of Ptolemy, seeing this point is one of the last summits of a great Atlantic range, which, under the name of Jebel Ida û Tanan, reaches the sea between the Wád Tamrakt and Agadîr. The Wád Merzek is the Κούσα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, the Um er-Rabîâ the Ἀσάμα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί.

Mazagan, Saffi, and Mogador.

Mazagan (the Jadîda of the Arabs, otherwise El Boríjah, a diminutive of "Borjah," a tower or fortified place) is Ῥουσιβὶς λιμήν, unless Tît occupied this site. Διοὸρ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ is Wáládîya; Ἡλίου ὄρος Cape Cantin; Μυσοκάρας λιμὴν Saffi; Φθοῦθ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ the Tansîft, and Ἡρακλέους ἄκρον (we have seen) Rás el Hadîd. Ταμούσιγα is usually accepted as the site of Mogador (the Sûîra of the Arabs), and Οὐσσάδιον ἄκρον Cape Sisn (Rás Tazerwált); Σούριγα may be Kûbîa, on the Wád Tidli (?); Οὔνα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ the Wád Igûzul (or perhaps the Wád Táfetna), and

Ἄγνα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ the Wád Beni Táner, though it is open to discussion whether Σάλα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ is in the Wád Tamrakt. The Wád Massa may be the Μάσσα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί; but whether the Σάλαθου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ and a number of other streams mentioned by Ptolemy can, as M. Tissot imagines, be identified with the Wád Garizim, Wád Bueda, Wád Auri Oora, Wád Assaka, etc., are questions which we are not prepared to answer in the affirmative quite so readily as this admirable commentator.

The Northern Coast.

Turning to the Northern Coast, we find the Μαλούα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ to be the Wád el Kis, or perhaps the Wád el Ajerûd; and the Μολοχὰθ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ the Melwîya, which, though not the political boundary between Morocco and Algeria, is in the Arab nomenclature the limit between Maghreb el Aûsát and Maghreb el Aḳṣà, the "Morocco" of Europeans. Μεταγωνίτης ἄκρον is Cabo de Agua (Rás Sidi Bashîr), Ῥυσσαδεῖρον Melilla, Συστιαρία ἄκρα the Cabo Tres Forcas or Rás Hurák, or other point in this vicinity. Ταινία Λόγγα is the Marsa Tagáza, the Tikisas of Idreesi; the Ὄλεαστρον ἄκρον, Point Adelaou or Rás Makad. Θαλοῦδα ποταμοῦ is the Martîl (the Tetuan river, the Wád Mejedksa of El Bekri). Ἰαγὰθ is Rás eṭ-Ṭarf to the south of Cape Negro; Φοίβου ἄκρα is recognised as Punta de Castillejos or Rás el F'nîdáḳ; and Ἄβυλη στήλη, Monte Acho, the culminating point of the Sierra Almena in the peninsula of Ceuta. Ἐξιλίσσα is Mársa Dennil; Ἑπταδελφοὶ ὄρος is less satisfactorily identified with the Jebel Belyûnesh, or rather Bermeja Point, the Ἄκρα Ἀβιλυκὴ of Scylax; and not to enumerate the many other localities less certainly identified by Tissot and Vivien de St. Martin (from whom M. Tissot generally differs), Οὐαλωνος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ is the Wád el Kasar, the Wád el Yám of El Bekri. With the interior of Morocco Ptolemy displays little acquaintance. But he knew of Οὐολομβιλις (Volubilis), Δίουρ ὄρος (Jebel Zarhôn), Πυῤῥὸν πεδίον (the Plain of Morocco), Βάνασσα, Τοκολοίδια, and Βάββα.

Of all the Itineraries or Road-books made for the use of the Roman armies which have descended to us, the most important

Antoninus Augustus. *Cir.* 300.

is that which bears the name of Antoninus. It is evident from this fact that it was either compiled or improved in the reign of one of the emperors of that name—most probably the infamous despot commonly known as "Caracalla" (211–217)—and revised at later dates; so that, as Wessling, Parthey, and Bunbury hold, in the form we know it, the *Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti* may be ascribed to the reign of Diocletian (284–305). Its almost invariably accurate measurements enable us for the first time to fix with certainty the places named in it, and so far as Morocco is concerned this has been done with great nicety by Tissot and other commentators.

Accurate Measurements.

Thus (on the coast) *Malva flumen* is the Melwîya; the *Ad Tres Insulas*, the Chafarinas Islands, a name which is a corruption of the Arabic Jâafarîn, derived from the neighbouring tribe of Beni Bû Jâafar; the Rvssader Colonia is Melilla; the *Promontorium Russadi*, Cabo Tres Forcas (Rás Hurák); and the *Promontorium Cannarum*, Point Abdun (Rás Sidi Aïsà Umats), and not Cape Quilates, as Mannert decided. The *Sex Insulæ* must be looked for in the Bay of Alhucemas (El Mzemma). *Parietina* was in the creek of Alcala, and *Cobucla* in the Fishers' Cove (Pescadores), known to the Moors as Marsa Uringa, the outlet of a considerable river, the Wád Uringa. Ptolemy, who passes over the preceding places in silence, mentions *Tænia Longa*, (Ταινί Λόγγα) of the Antonine Itinerary, which M. Tissot fixes on the Marsa Tagáza. *Ad Promontorium Barbari* is evidently Point Adalaou, a corruption of Wád Láû, a name by which the natives designate a little river which falls into the bay lying to the East of that point. Its mouth is sufficiently deep to give shelter to the small vessels which come from Tetuan to load with the building timber which is found so plentifully in this part of the Rîf, so that in all likelihood this—and not the Wád N'kôr according to Mannert—was the *Flumen Laud* "et ipsum navigiorum capax," which Pliny (*q. v.*) indicates as lying between two other navigable rivers, the *Tamuda* (Martîl) and the *Malvana* (Melwîya).

We are not quite satisfied with the identification of *Ad Aquilam majorem* and *Ad Aquilam minorem* with Ptolemy's Ἰαγὰθ and Φοίβου ἄκρα, near the modern Cape Negro (Rás eṭ-Ṭarf) and Punta de Castillejos (Rás el Fánîdák), though it is better than Lapie's identification of the first-named station with Tetuan, or Mannert's with the mouth of the Martîl. The *Ad Septem Fratres* of Mela and the Itinerary are to be looked for in Punta Bermeja of the Jebel Belyûnish, or practically the modern Ceuta, which, there need be little doubt, succeeded it, though M. Tissot doubts this, arguing that Ceuta (Sebta of the Arabs, and Σεπτὸν of the Byzantines) is not necessarily a corruption of the Latin *Septem*, which is the main basis for this hypothesis. But there is no doubt of Tingis being Tangier.

Ceuta.

It is, however, chiefly for the interior of Northern Morocco that the Roman Itinerary is valuable, for it is almost our only authority for the geography of a region which by that time had got settled by military colonists. On the route from Tingis to *Exploratio ad Mercurios*, the most advanced post of the Romans, a little beyond *Sala Colonia* (Shella, near Rabat), we find the following places noted:—*Ad Mercuri* seems to be at the village of Dár Jadîd. "Almadrones," which, in dependence upon Grâberg di Hemsö, Mannert and Lapie decided to be the site, appears to be to the south of Cape Spartel, but the name (a Spanish corruption) is completely unknown in the country. Renou and Vivien de Saint Martin placed it at the south of the mouth of the Tahaddárt, which the first of these two authors confounds with the Gharîfa. At Dár Jadîda (Tissot) there are the remains of what seems to have been a considerable Roman city. *Ad Novas* appears from the distance traversed to have been at or near Sidi el Yamáni; *Tabernæ* at Lálla Jelálîya, where there are the vestiges of an extensive town; *Frigidæ* at Sûeeïr, where there are various ruins, though these exist at several places on the route between Lixus and Banasa, and the very name is exactly translated in that of the Wád Má el Bárda, the "cold water river."

Roman Stations.

Colonia Ælia Banasa is proved by ruins and, what is rare in Morocco, by an inscription,[1] to have been at Sidi Ali bû Jenán, on the left bank of the Sebû river. *Thamusida* is at Sidi 'Ali ben Ahmad, a "Kûbbah" or saint's tomb, around which there are many ruins; while the *Exploratio ad Mercurios* ought, by being situated sixteen miles from Sala, to be situated between the Wád Ikken and the Wád Sherrát; no trace now remains of what was doubtless an outpost constructed like the three Moorish "kaṣbahs" between the Wád Ikken and Fedála, to keep in check the "Autololes" or Aït Hilálà, whom twenty centuries of invaders have not taught to own a master. Another road led from *Tocolosida* to Tingis. The first-named place is doubtful: it might have been Maghila or Zarhôn (Mannert), or Sidi Kásim (Lapie); but it was neither Amergo (Renou) nor Kaṣar Faráôn (Gráberg). But Volubilis, which was a considerable city—and though Mulai Idrees Zarhôn, and to some extent Mequinez and Fez, have been built out of it, still remains in the shape of some widespread ruins and stately arches with inscriptions—was unquestionably Kasar Faráôn, "Pharaoh's Castle"; all identifications previous to those of Tissot, and of De la Martinière, who has of late explored many of the Roman sites with no small skill and success, being erroneous, mainly owing to the faulty statements of Pliny. Even Leo Africanus, who had been educated in Fez, is very wide of the mark, while Mannert is so far from the truth, that he seeks for the Walili or Gualali of Leo on the Sebû, thirty-five miles from Banasa, which he identifies with Mámora (Mehedîya), if indeed this was not Casablanca (Dár el Baïda) formerly called Anasa.

Untameable Tribes.

Aquæ Daciсæ is most likely Aïn el Kibrît, a sulphurous spring near the summit called Tselfát; and *Gilda*, El Haleeïn. *Viposcianæ* may have been at Jebel Kort, where in the eleventh century El Bekri describes the existence of an ancient town already in ruins. *Tremulæ* corresponds with the ruins of Baṣra, founded in the middle of the ninth century, and in the time of El Bekri so large that it had ten

Vanished Ruins.

[1] Desjardins, *Rev. Archéol.*, Dec., 1872, n. s., t. xxiv. pp. 366, 367.

gates. Yet next century Idreesi describes it as "at one time" of considerable consequence: nowadays it is difficult to find more than a fragment of one rampart. Finally *Oppidum Novum* is unquestionably El Ḳaṣar el Kabîr, *Ad Novas* Sidi el Yamáni; while *Colonia Iulia Babba Campestris*, off the route, may be Es-Serîf. It is mentioned by Pliny, and figures as Βάββα among the Πόλεις μεσόγεοι of Ptolemy.

MOROCCO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cape Spartel (Rás Ashakkar)
Tangier
Ceuta (Sp.)
Tetuan
Azila
Larache (El 'Arâish)
Beni Hassan
Khlot
Er-R
El Kasar el Kabîr
Ghomara
Basra
Wazzan
Sla (Slâ)
Rabat
Fedâla
Dârel Baïda or Casablanca
Beni Hasan
Zair Country
MEQUINEZ (FÂS) (MIKNÂS)
FEZ
Sefrû
Beni M'tir
Zemmûr Shilh
Azammur
Mazagan (Jadîda)
Tâmsnâ
Beni M'guild
Walad Zyân
Dukkâla
Zeïâït
Wad er-Rabîa
Rás Kantîn (C Cantin)
Saffi (Asfi)
'Abda
Bû Jaad
Beni zaian
Raḥâmna
Tâdla
Bla'd Ahmar
El Kalâ
Mogador (Suéira)
Shiâdhma
Dammat
Hâhâ
Ida ú Tanân
M'tuga
MARRÂKESH
Great Atlas
Tadghâ
Ûrika
Bibâwan Pass
C. Geer
Hawâra
Agadir Ighir
R Sûs
Tarudant
Mussa Shûka
Tisnit
Iligh
Sûs
Drâa Country
R. Drâa
Ed-Dabâïa
Arkshish
C Nûn
Assaka
Tatrîwalt
R Nûn
Gumin
Talta
Moroccan Sâḥara
R Drâa
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